

badly, in a letter to one of his correspondents he openly admitted:  
"I am not able to read French." - R. S.).

"At the mere thought that I am defending a point of view

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Engels' attack on the war and on the position of the then  
Germans, your blood boils and you cannot translate this ... "

Dda! Not expected! After all, we, liya, and Grigory (Zinoviev. -  
BD.S.), to this place - more than a place: statement, speech, declaration  
- Engels referred many times, directly and indirectly, in 1914 and 1915.

After all, this was written by Engels first for the French socialists  
and published in their Aitapas di Raz! Otsupeg." And then the French did  
not protest, feeling - if not clearly understanding that the war of Bulan +  
Alexander PG against the then Germany would have been anti-  
democratic only on their part, but on the part of Germany  
(which imperialism was out of the question then !!) would have  
been really only "defence", really a war for national existence.

And now, what the French themselves recognized as true in  
1891, you suddenly cherish (a wonderful turn in correspondence  
with a lady, to whom, moreover, you are clearly not indifferent! -  
B.S.), and how!

In Switzerland, Inessa did not feel well, she suffered from  
the consequences: malaria, often stayed for a long time in various  
sanatoriums. On July 25, 1916, Lenin worried about her health: "I  
advise and ask you to be treated so that by winter you will be  
completely healthy. Go south, into the sun!" I think that in fact  
Inessa was most depressed by the separation from Ilyich that lasted  
all year. It is not known who initiated this time. Perhaps Ilyich,  
because of the political differences that had come to light, did not  
want to keep Armand next to him, although he still wrote letters  
emphatically caring. Either Inessa's feeling for Vladimir reached  
such a strength that it became very difficult for her to see her rival  
wife next to the object of her love, and she preferred to leave Lenin.  
In the already cited letter from

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On January 19, 1917, he wrote: "As for the "German captivity" (in  
case Switzerland becomes a theater

military operations. - B.S.), etc., all your fears are excessive and untenable. No danger. We are staying here for now. I beg you, when choosing your place of residence, with considerations about whether I will go there, do not reckon. It would already be absurd, wild, ridiculous if I embarrassed you in choosing a city by thinking about whether it "may" not be in the future that I will come there too !!!" It turns out that Armand herself avoided meeting with Lenin? However, this cannot be stated unequivocally.

Or maybe for Inessa, political disagreements with Lenin were also a means to maintain a more intensive correspondence with him, to constantly remind of herself? But she suffered separation. very hard. And sometimes longing broke through in the letters with irritation, which Inessa tried to hide. And sometimes for a long time she did not answer Ilyich. Thus, Lenin's letter, written between January 22 and 30, 1917, reflects his anxiety because of Inessa's silence: "Apparently, your non-response to several of my last letters points - in connection with something else - to some changed mood, or decision, or the state of affairs you have. Your last letter contained at the end the word repeated twice - I went, I did it. Nothing. I don't know what to think anymore, whether you were offended by something or were too keen on moving or something else ... I'm afraid to ask, because, perhaps, questions are unpleasant for you, and therefore I will agree that I accept your silence on this point. precisely in the sense that questions are unpleasant for you, and that's it. I then apologize for them, and of course I won't repeat it." And on March 13, he added on another occasion: "Of course, if you don't have the desire to answer, or even have a "hunt" and the decision not to answer, I won't bother with questions." The case concerned the leaflet "Against lies about the protection

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those fatherlands," which Lenin sent to Inessa in February for translation into English and French. She approved the text of the leaflet, in connection with which Lenin wrote: "I am very glad that you liked it." But Inessa was delayed with the translations, which caused Lenin's displeasure. He received the transfers only on the eve of March 15, the day when news of the Russian revolution became known in Switzerland. This message was brought to Lenin and Krupskaya by the Polish Social Democrat M. Bronsky. In the afternoon, he burst into their apartment with a joyful cry: "You don't know anything? Revolution in Russia!

Congratulating Inessa on the completion of the work on the translations, Ilyich reported: "Today we are in Zurich in agitation: from 15. Fri there is a telegram to HogsNeg Roses and Metz Hogspeg Geyip?", which in Russia

14. The PT won the revolution in St. Petersburg after a 3-day struggle, that 12 members of the Duma were in power, and the ministers were all arrested. If the Germans do not lie, it is true. That Russia was in the last days on the eve of the revolution is beyond doubt. I'm beside myself that I can't go to Scandinavia!! I won't forgive myself for not taking the risk of going in 1915!"

Well, about the prediction of the eve of the revolution, the Bolshevik leader was, as they say, strong in hindsight. Back in early January 1917, speaking at the Zurich "People's House" with a report on the revolution of 1905-1907, he only said that "the coming years ... will lead to popular uprisings in Europe ...". However, in fact, even these "next years" for Lenin at that moment stretched into decades. Because he finished the report pessimistically: "We old people, perhaps, will not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution ..." It seems that Vladimir Ilyich did not think that Russia would give the start of the future European revolution and that before the start of the Russian revolution less than two months left. And where did he get it

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know that if there was almost no connection with Russia, letters from there came very rarely, and from the Swiss or French newspapers it was impossible to draw a conclusion about the imminent advent of the Russian revolution. Possibly, Lenin retroactively interpreted as a sign of the approaching revolution the facts contained in a letter that came to him from Moscow. He wrote about this letter to Inessa on February 19, 1917: "Dear friend! We received a letter of encouragement the other day. from Moscow (soon we send you a copy, although the text is not interesting). Write that the mood of the masses is good, that chauvinism is clearly on the wane, and that there will probably be a holiday in our street. The organization is suffering from the fact that adults are at the front, and young people and women are in the factories. But the fighting mood, de facto, does not decrease from this. They send a copy of a leaflet (good) issued by the Moscow Bureau of the Central Committee... The smoking room is alive! It is difficult for people and our Party to live purely. Yet they live."

Here only with a very stormy imagination can one find signs of an imminent revolution. Of course, the fact that chauvinism among the workers was on the wane opened up opportunities for the Bolsheviks to increase their influence and seriously press the Menshevik defencists. But no more. Obviously, under the future holiday on his street, Lenin also meant the future dominance of his party among the workers. Which in itself took time and by no means automatically led to the overthrow of self-

power. Only later, when the revolution actually took place, did Vladimir Ilyich try to convince himself and Inessa that he had interpreted the Moscow letter as evidence of an impending revolutionary explosion.

Anyway, February. the revolution in Russia finally reconciled Armand with Lenin. Inessa in practice was convinced of the effectiveness of lo

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zung "defeat of his government", which (and even more - serious setbacks and heavy losses of the Russian army) contributed to the fall of tsarist power. Lenin's analysis of the situation turned out to be correct. Inessa could not but admit that Ile was completely right.

icha.

Now all Lenin's thoughts were directed to a speedy return to Russia. And he persuaded Inessa to go there too. He wrote to her on March 18: "Dear friend! I am writing on the road: I went to the essay. Yesterday (Saturday) I read about an amnesty (announced by the Provisional Government for political opponents of the autocracy and victims of religious persecution - B.S.). We dream about the trip. If you are going home, please visit us first. Let's talk. I would very much like to instruct you in England to find out quietly and truly whether I could pass through.

The next day Lenin received Inesa's letters and had a telephone conversation with her. He was disappointed and sent Armand another letter on the same subject: "Dear friend! I am writing to you in response to the letters I received from you today and about the conversation on the phone.

I cannot hide from you that I am very disappointed. In my opinion, everyone should now have one thought: to jump. And people are waiting for something!

I am sure that I will be arrested or simply detained in England if I go under my own name, for it was England who not only confiscated a number of my letters to America, but also asked (her police) dad (Russian Social Democrat M. M. Lit Vinov, who later became the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. - B. S.) in 1915, whether he corresponded with me and communicated through me with the German socialists.

Fact! So I can't move personally without very "special" measures.

What about others? I was sure that you would jump that -

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an hour to England, because only there you can find out how to get there and whether the risk is great (they say, through Holland: London - Holland - Scandinavia - the risk is small), etc. d.

Yesterday I wrote you a postcard from the road, thinking that you are undoubtedly already thinking and have decided to go to Bern to the consul (to obtain an English visa. - B.S.). And you answer: I hesitate, I'll think about it.

Of course, my nerves are overwhelmed. Yes, even! Be patient, sit here...

You probably have special reasons, your health may not be good, etc.

I will try to persuade Valya (V.S. Safarova, the wife of the well-known Inessa G.I. Safarov on a joint trip to St. Petersburg. - B.S.) to go (she ran to us on Saturday after she had not been for a year!). But she has little interest in the revolution.

Yes, I almost forgot. This is what can and should be done immediately in Klaran (Inessa lived there. - B.S.): start looking for passports (?) from Russians who would agree to give theirs (let alone for me) to leave now to another person; (?) ? swiss, or swiss, which could give a Russian.

Anna: Evgenievna (Konstantinovich) and Abram (the Bolshevik A. A. Skovno, whom Inessa and Krupskaya had previously visited in the Bern hospital. - B. S.) must be forced to immediately go to the embassy (of Russia. - B. S.) , take a pass (if they don't give it, complain by telegraph to Milyukov and Kerensky) and go, or, if you don't go, give us an answer on the basis of deeds (not words): how they give and take a pass.

Shake your hand.

Your Lenin

There are many rich Russians in (and around) Klaran

and poor Russian social patriots, etc. (Trojanovsky, Rubakin, etc.), who should

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ask the Germans for passes - a carriage to Copenhagen for various revolutionaries.

Why not?

I can not do it. I am a "defeatist".

But Troyanovsky and Rubakin + Co. can.

Oh, if I could teach this bastard and fools to be smart! ..

You will say, perhaps, that the Germans will not give a wagon. Let's bet that they will!

Of course, if they find out that this thought comes from me or from you, then the matter will be spoiled ...

Are there no fools in Geneva for this purpose?...

At such moments as now, one must be able to be resourceful and adventurous. You have to run to the German consul, invent personal affairs and get a pass to Copenhagen, pay the Zurich lawyers: I'll give you 300 g\$ if you get a pass for 4 Germans ... Otsap and then! ) ne pu sotrep4 \$ pep, ta! 5 abzomtepe g! en ... "(As for me, I don't understand anything, absolutely nothing" (fr. - RB. S.)".

This letter contains all of Lenin. People, even those for whom the leader has undoubted sympathy, are for him only a means to achieve certain political goals. In this case, in order to get to Russia as soon as possible at any cost. And in expressions, Ilyich, as usual, is not shy. Completely unfamiliar people, whom he is also going to use "in the dark" to obtain the cherished passports and passes, without hesitation, he calls "fools" and "bastards". But they have in connection with this. there could be big trouble with the police later on! In principle, this is the same case as with the acquaintances of Elizabeth K., to whom Ilyich was going to quietly slip children's cubes stuffed with illegal literature. And it is quite possible that Lenin was cunning when he wrote to Inessa, as if German

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The authorities may refuse passes to Copenggen if they find out that the initiative comes from him. Probably, he simply did not want to emphasize the fact that the activities of the Bolsheviks were objectively in the interests of Germany. And Lenin's calculation, as is well known, turned out to be correct. It was too profitable for the Germans to let the defeatist Social Democrats quickly find themselves in Russia and continue their work of demoralizing both the army and the civilian population. Therefore sealed

the wagon for the passage of Lenin and his comrades through Germany was, as you know, finally provided.

But the real mystery, unresolved until now, is why Inessa at first stubbornly refused to return to Russia? Here you can put forward several versions. The ill-health option that Lenin mentioned in his letter as a suggestion does not seem very convincing. After all, in the previous few months, Inessa Ilyich had not said anything about any serious illnesses. Only about overwork and shattered nerves. But just in Russia, a meeting with children, a return to active work could really shake up Inessa, give her new vitality.

Characteristically, even before that, Armand did not express much enthusiasm for Lenin's proposal to go to France and give lectures there for Russian and French socialists. It seems that in fact Inessa does not want to leave Claran at all. What, or, most likely, who, is holding her there? Maybe Inessa fell in love again? An obscure Russian emigrant or some handsome Swiss? It is unlikely that we will ever get an exact answer to this question. Or maybe Inessa was tired of the status of a friend, and she sought a promise from Ilyich

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the idea that if not now, then in the future, at least after the victory of the new revolution that he is preparing, much more radical than the February revolution, will they still unite their destinies? Don't know. But, in spite of everything, the fact remains: Armand eventually went to Russia. She traveled in the same compartment with Lenin and Krupskaya in a sealed carriage through Germany. But Ilyich had to seek her consent for several more weeks.

Among the "special" measures that Lenin intended to use for his return to his homeland were means borrowed as if from a comedy of masks. For example, on the same day, March 19, he wrote to the Bolshevik Vyacheslav Alekseevich Karpinsky in Geneva: "Take papers in your name for travel to France and England, and I will pass them through England (and Holland) to Russia.

I can wear a wig. A photo will be taken of me already in a wig, and I will appear at the consulate in Bern with your papers already in a wig. .

You must then escape from Geneva at least

for a few weeks (until a telegram from me from Scandinavia): during this time you must hide very seriously in the mountains, where for boarding: we pay for you, of course.

If you agree, immediately begin preparations in the most energetic (and most secret) way, and then write to me in any case.

What exactly Karpinsky answered Lenin is not known, but, most likely, he gently avoided participating in an adventure that could cost him a forced expulsion from Switzerland. Lenin, however, was afraid to go to England under his own name, believing that he would either not be allowed into the country or be interned. The cautious Vyacheslav Alekseevich returned to Russia only at the end of the 17th, after the victory of the October Revolution. The idea with a wig was used by Lenin later, in summer and autumn.

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1917, when he had to hide from a possible trial on charges of spying for Germany.

Karpinsky later recalled that Lenin also proposed a rather piquant "travel plan for individual comrades: to marry a Swiss citizen and thus obtain the right of passage both to Germany and to Russia." Did Ilyich advise Inessa to find some suitable Swiss for this purpose? Or did she already have such a Swiss?

Lenin was worried that he could not arrange a trip to Russia. And Inessa is behaving strangely. At the end of March, Ilyich again wrote to her: "Dear friend! You seem to be too nervous - this explains a number of theoretical "oddities" in your letters. Is it not necessary to distinguish between the 1st and 2nd revolutions or 1 and 2 stages?? That's right. Marxism demands a distinction between the classes that act. In Russia, the class in power is not the same as before. This means that the revolution is going to be completely, completely different... We must not get into Russia!! England won't let you. It doesn't go through Germany.

Probably, Inessa expressed some doubts about the need for a new revolution, believing that in the process of the development of the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks would be able to come to power in a peaceful, democratic way. Vladimir Ilyich, literally from the first days, understood that the Provisional Government must be overthrown, either by armed force or by way of a general strike and mass demonstrations. There is no hope for victory in the elections to the Constituent Assembly



yalyas - in peasant Russia, the Bolsheviks were clearly inferior in popularity to the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Although anti-war propaganda with German money and agitation for the immediate division of the landlords' lands should have greatly added to the people's love for Lenin's party.

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After all, in the already mentioned report in the Zurich "People's House" on the revolution of 1905, the leader of the Bolsheviks sincerely lamented: the number of noble estates, only a fifteenth of what they were supposed to: destroy ... "

Now, Lenin thought, the peasants would not let go of their own and would already destroy all the landowners as a class. And only then it will be possible to take the land from them themselves, declaring public property, and force the peasants to work on it - as new serfs of the socialist state. But in order to seriously fight for power, Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders had to return to Russia. And it didn't work to go back. England and France did not pass. Germany hesitated. Suddenly, travelers on the road will launch anti-war propaganda on the territory of the Reich, where the people are already very tired of war and blockade. Or even settle down in Germany, adding a headache to the local police.

Finally, a compromise was reached. On March 31, 1917, Lenin telegraphed Robert Grimm, a prominent Swiss Social Democrat and member of parliament, who acted as an intermediary in negotiations with the German authorities: "Our party has decided to unconditionally accept the proposal for the passage of Russian emigrants through Germany and immediately organize this trip." It was all about that. the same sealed wagon. By the way, this idea was proposed by Lenin himself even when he hoped to travel to Russia through. England and wrote to Ganetsky: "Please inform me ... whether the British government agrees to allow me and a number of members of our party to enter Russia ... on the following conditions: (a) a seamstress

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the tsarist socialist Fritz Platten (who was yet to perish in the Gulag. - RB.S.) receives from the British government the right to smuggle any number of persons through England, regardless of their political direction and their views on the war and

world; (6) Platten alone is responsible both for the composition of the transported groups and for the order, receiving the lockable. them ... a wagon for travel through England. No one can enter this carriage without the consent of Platten. In practice, these conditions were useful to Ganetsky and Platten for negotiations with representatives not of the British, but of the German government.

In early April, Lenin wrote to Inessa, who was still indecisive: "I hope that on Wednesday (April 4: - B.S.) we are going (from Bern to Germany. - B.S.) - I hope together with you ... The money (100 Y\$), I hope, was received in an express (translated. - B.S.) sent in the morning. We have more money for the trip than I thought, enough for 10-12 people, because our comrades in Stockholm helped us a lot.

Since Lenin was forced to send Inessa money for the journey to Bern, it means that she lived rather cramped. Obviously, Alexander Armand, because of the war, could not transfer funds abroad for his ex-wife. Inessa arrived in Bern and joined the departing. Before departure, which was postponed until April 9, everyone had to sign an undertaking to observe the conditions of passage through Germany and to obey Platten's orders entirely. In addition, Ilyich and the other passengers of the sealed carriage were warned that the Provisional Government was threatening to prosecute those Russian subjects who would be returning to Russia through Germany for high treason. According to the memoirs of the German Social Democrat Wilhelm Münderberg, Lenin kept repeating: "We must go at all costs, even through hell."

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And the Bolshevik P. Joffe, who was in Zurich in those days, asserted: "To the cowardly talk of the fake internationalists that the German Kaiser, letting the Bolsheviks through, had his own definite goals, Lenin resolutely replied: "I don't care about the goals of the Kaiser. After all, what difference does it make what he wants? I know one thing - I should be there, not here ... "Let's suppose that Lenin knew perfectly well about the goals of the Kaiser. Only a fool could have been unaware of these goals: to use the Bolsheviks for corrupting propaganda in order to take Russia out of the war. But Vladimir Ilyich considered himself immeasurably superior to the "phony internationalists" and did not see a big misfortune in Germany's victory over Russia if the victory of the socialist revolution was bought at such a price.

General Erich Ludendorff, who carried out functions of the chief of staff under the actual commander-in-chief of the German army, Field Marshal Pa-

ole von Hindenburg, recalled: "Helping Lenin get to Russia, our government assumed a special responsibility. From a military point of view, this undertaking was justified. Russia had to be knocked down."

And even before Lenin left Switzerland, the German authorities decided to pay the Bolsheviks. After coming to power in October 1917, Lenin and representatives of the German side tried to cover up the traces of this assistance. In Lenin's "secret" archive, a curious document has been preserved, dated November 16/29, 1917: "To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. In accordance with the resolution adopted at the meeting of the people's commissars Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Podvoisky, Dybenko and Volodarsky, we did the following:

1. In the archive of the Ministry of Justice from the case of "treason" of Comrade Lenin, Zinoviev, Kozlovsko

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Go, Kollontai and others, we seized the order of the German Imperial Bank No. 7433 dated March 2, 1917, with permission to pay money to Comrade. Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Sumenson, Kozlovsky and others for promoting peace in Russia.

2. All the books of the Nia bank in Stockholm were looked through, concluding the accounts of vols. Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and others, opened by order of the German Imperial Bank under No. 2754. These books were handed over to Müller, who was sent from Berlin.

Authorized by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs E. Polivanov, G. Zalkind.

I don't know what happened to G. Zalkind. But the eminent Orientalist linguist Yevgeny Dmitrievich Polivanov, authorized by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, paid for his knowledge of the most secret of the Bolshevik secrets in 1938 by execution.

We traveled through Germany without incident. The journey took four whole days. On April 13, the train arrived at the Baltic port of Sassnitz. From here, a ferry departed for the Swedish port of Trelleborg. At six o'clock in the evening, the passengers of the sealed carriage arrived there. At night, an ordinary car of an ordinary passenger train took them to Stockholm. There, Lenin and his companions were met by the deputies of the Swedish Riksdag Carlson, Lindhagen, Shtrem and others. There was still some time left before the train left for Finland. Together with Swedish friends we decided to take a walk around the city. Then a historical group shot was taken - the only one in which Armand recorded

Chatlen together with Lenin (and Krupskaya).

At the Finnish border, the travelers boarded Finnish wagons - wakes. On them, the travelers got to the nearest station, where they got into old, shabby, but such native Russian carriages of the third class. Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna have not been in Russia for ten years, Inessa -

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four years. Ahead was a triumphant meeting at twelve o'clock in the evening on April 3/16 at the Finland Station in Petrograd, the slogan thrown from an armored car: "Long live the socialist world revolution!" Ahead was immortality in history, both for Lenin and for the two women who loved him. There were 195 days left before Lenin's main triumph - the October Revolution.

LENIN - ARMAND: STAR  
HOUR AND DEATH

shortly after arriving in Petrograd, Inessa

became with Ilyich and Nadya. The couple settled on the banks of the Neva, while Inessa went to Moscow to live with her children. I didn't even get my luggage. Lenin wrote to her later: "Now I received two packages for you - from those that were taken out of your basket." He was inquired about how Inessa settled in the capital city: "How are you? Are you satisfied with Moscow?.. I wish you all the best both in terms of work, and in terms of getting a job with earnings, and in terms of living with children ... I sometimes see with great pleasure from the Moscow Social-Democrat how you take on various jobs in different districts, but, of course, little can be seen from the newspapers. And, perhaps, for the first time he complained about fatigue: "We still have "everything the same" that you yourself saw here, and there is no "end-to-edge" overwork ... I'm starting to "pass", sleep three times more than others, etc."

The rhythm of life in revolutionary Russia was not the same as in quiet neutral Switzerland. In St. Petersburg there was no time for outdoor walks. But Ilyich was not accustomed to constantly working long hours and with great intensity. And the change in lifestyle immediately affected his physical condition for the worse. After coming to power, when there were especially many things to do, the health of the Bolshevik leader was very thoroughly undermined, and soon

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an unknown illness deprived him of the ability to influence the course of events and brought Lenin to the grave.

On the whole, Lenin's letter to Inessa seemed to indicate that their romance was a thing of the past. Ilyich politely inquired about the life in Moscow of a woman whom he had once loved. The wishes of a device with earnings and a happy life with children can be understood in such a way that only memories remain from the former feeling, at times they stir the soul, but no more.

Lenin prepared the socialist revolution. He had no time for love. Krupskaya, as before, helped, 'performed the functions of a secretary. Although in the first weeks after the return, she was also ill. Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled that also | May "lay, could not get out of bed ...". When she recovered, she was engaged in correspondence, selection of materials, held, on behalf of her husband, meetings with party activists .... Then Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote her first article about Lenin, modestly titled "A Page from the History of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party" . But the whole "page" was about Him alone and appeared in "Soldatskaya Pravda" on May 13. Krupskaya stated: "The St. Petersburg proletariat arranged a solemn meeting for Lenin, because they knew his past activities, they knew that he had come to fight. The entire bourgeoisie, all the dark forces, attacked Lenin with furious anger. They poured out all their hidden hatred for the masses of the people rising to power on Lenin. For them, he was the personification of that transfer of power to the workers, which threatens the entire existing order, with all the privileges of the well-fed and so recently still ruling.

At first, Nadezhda Konstantinovna worked in the secretariat of the Central Committee of the RSDLP (6). But it was difficult to combine this work with the role of Lenin's personal secretary. Krupskaya recalled: "I have

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things were not getting better by the retariat. Of course, it was much more difficult for Ilyich to work without a personal secretary, but according to Russian conditions, in order to be the personal secretary that I used to be (abroad. - B.S.), I had to be in the editorial office and at meetings of the Central Committee - it was inconvenient. I had a talk with Ilyich, and decided that I would give up the secretariat and go into educational work. When I think about it now, I regret doing it. She would have stayed with Ilyich, perhaps she would have taken away from him the care of many trifles. Most likely in care

Krupskaya from the secretariat was insisted by other members of the Central Committee. In fact, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in order to fully perform the functions of Lenin's personal secretary to the same extent as in exile, had to be a member of the party leadership. And the fact that in the Central Committee Ilyich would still have an additional vote of his own wife, his comrades-in-arms, one must think, looked askance. Lenin did not yet have unconditional authority in the party, although he was already seen as its acknowledged leader. Such authority came after the victory of October and the final success of the combination with the Brest Peace. But even then, he had to convince his comrades-in-arms, even if they had unlimited faith in his genius, and not dictate ready-made solutions to them. And many decisions of the Politburo and the Central Committee were not taken unanimously.

For Krupskaya, excommunication from the role of Lenin's secretary may have proved fatal. Now the spouses were not connected by joint daily work, they saw each other less and less, and some alienation from each other could not but arise between them. Ilyich came home late and very tired, there was almost no time to talk. Lenin tried to practice, as in Switzerland, walks with his wife, but it was difficult to find at least half an hour for them.

Krupskaya decided to run for the Vyborg

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district Duma and easily won the elections in this proletarian region, where the population supported the Bolsheviks. In the Duma, she became the chairman of the cultural and educational commission - Nadezhda Konstantinovna devoted the rest of her life to this area of activity. She began with the organization of two literacy schools and the opening of a working People's University on Vyborgskaya embankment.

Meanwhile, the clouds were gathering over Vladimir Ilyich. After the Bolsheviks failed to take power on July 4 with the help of an armed demonstration of soldiers and sailors who sympathized with them, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Lenin. He was accused of spying for Germany and of organizing an attempted coup. Lenin went underground. They searched his apartment, arrested Nadezhda Konstantinovna and the husband of Lenin's sister Anna Mark Timofeevich Elizarov, who was mistaken for the leader of the Bolsheviks. Then they picked up and let go. Lenin and Zinoviev hid in Razliv near Petrograd, and then in Finland.

In August, the UT party congress was held without Lenin. Both Krupskaya and Armand were his delegates. Then Nadezhda Konstantinovna visited Vladimir Ilyich in Helsingfors. Krupskaya described their meeting as follows: "Ilyich was very happy. It was evident how he yearned, sitting underground at a time when it was so important to be in the center of preparation for the fight. I told him everything I knew."

Lenin returned to Petrograd on October 7, 1917. He settled on Serdobolskaya Street in the apartment of the Bolshevik Margarita Vasilievna Fofanova. The way to Petrograd was not easy. First, Lenin moved to Vyborg. The Finnish Social Democrat Yu. K. Latukka, who gave him shelter in this city, recalled:

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waiting for Eino Rakhia with an order from the Central Committee of the party to deliver Lenin to Petrograd. No time was wasted. They made a wig that made our Vladimir Ilyich unrecognizable - a Finnish pastor ... They boarded a tram and soon were at the station. The train blew a whistle at 2:35 p.m. — the October Revolution was on its way to Russia. At Raivola station, our travelers left the platform of the wagon; two hours later, Vladimir Ilyich, on a tender for a locomotive, on which Yalava was the driver, with Eino Rakhia, crossed the border in the first carriage of the train and left the train at Lanskaya station. Here Latukka was a little mistaken. Indeed, the nearest station to Serdobolskaya Street was Lanskaya. But a few days before Lenin's return, Krupskaya made her way along the proposed route and found out that Lanskaya was located on a high hillock. Therefore, all visitors immediately catch the eye when they descend into the city. It was decided that Ilyich would get off at the previous station, Udelnaya, and get to Serdobolskaya Street.

on foot.

The shelter chosen for Lenin was very convenient from the point of view of conspiracy. Krupskaya fully appreciated this: "Fofanova lived in a large workers' house, which made it inaccessible to spies. One window overlooked the garden, through which, in the event of a search, it was possible to go down to the garden, located on the other side of the house. Very few people knew the apartment, and no one came without prior agreement (they went only on business). Fofanova was a member of the Vyborg party organization, except for her, no one lived in the apartment, no one came to her while Ilyich lived, with the exception of two three cases, and even then she tried to sell those who came as soon as possible somewhere ". In passing, I note that the style of Nadezhda Konstantinovna is amazing.

If. would not know, never believed that the spouse

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Lenina graduated from high school with a gold medal. So, as she, the heroes of Mikhail Zoshchenko expressed themselves rather. The immortal "you were not standing here" immediately comes to mind.

What follows is well known. The overthrow of the Provisional Government as a result of the October Revolution (or coup, as the Bolsheviks themselves at first preferred to say, contrasting what happened with the less radical February Revolution). Convocation and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. The establishment of a truce at the front, the disruption of peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk, the offensive of the Germans, the conclusion of the "obscene" Brest Peace. The last event was directly related to our "red triangle". Petrog is glad as a result of the peace treaty turned into a border town. Not far away, in Estonia and Finland, were German troops. For security reasons, the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin, moved to Moscow in March 1918, which became the capital of the Soviet state. Ilyich, Krupskaya and Armand again ended up together in the same city. And Lenin's romance with Inessa flared up again. And this time, their relationship has gone very far.

Fofanova also moved to Moscow. Ilyich attached her to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. Many years after the death of all the characters in our history, Margarita Vasilievna recalled that back in c. Petrograd sent Lenin's letters and notes to many recipients, including Inessa Armand: "Letters from Lenin to Inessa Fedorovna were of a personal nature. I could not refuse Vladimir Ilyich. Nadezhda Konstantinovna knew about his warm relations with Inessa. On this basis, there were serious conflicts between Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna even before October. But the conflict arose especially sharply between them after the revolution,

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when Ilyich became head of the Soviet government. Vladimir Ilyich appointed Inessa Fyodorovna chairman of the economic council of the Moscow province and settled her near the Kremlin walls, opposite the Alexander Garden, next to the apartment of his sister, Anna Ilyinichna. He often visited Inessa Fyodorovna on foot.



Nadezhda Konstantinovna told Vladimir Ilyich that if he did not cut off contact with Armand, then she would leave him. Unfortunately, the family conflict became the property of the members of the Central Committee of the party and the government, who knew and noticed everything. |

Soon after Armand was appointed to the post of chairman of the economic council of the Moscow province, it turned out that she could not cope with this work, which was completely unusual for her. Then, at the initiative of Lenin, she was appointed to the newly created position of head of the women's department at the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

Of course, the story of Margarita Vasilievna could not be believed, but it is also confirmed by such a solid witness as V. M. Molotov. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich himself became a member of the Central Committee only in 1921, after the death of Inessa. But even before that, he held not the last positions in the nomenklatura, was close to the very top and was probably aware of the rumors circulating there. In his declining years, Molotov talked with the poet Felix Chuev. The poet remarked: "They say that Krupskaya insisted that Inessa Armand be transferred from Moscow ..." Vyacheslav Mikhailovich responded vividly: "It could be. Of course, this is an unusual situation. Lenin, simply put, has a mistress. And Krupskaya is a sick person

century."

Lenin himself took care of allocating Inessa with the children a spacious apartment on the territory of the Kremlin. On December 16, 1918, he wrote to the commandant of the Kremlin P. D. Malkov: "T. Malkov! The giver is comrade.

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Inessa Armand, member of the CEC. She needs an apartment of 4 people. As we talked to you today, show her what you have, that is, show her the apartments that you had in mind. As a result, Inessa settled next door to Anna Ilinichnaya. In addition, she received the right to the highest "first category of class rations." True, even this privileged ration was rather meager in that time of famine. A pound of bread was supposed to be a day, as well as pearl barley, herring or roach, matches, kerosene Sin ... Armand herself, which is characteristic, after the October Revolution, ceased to hide her feelings for Ilyich, at least in front of close people. In a letter to her daughter Inessa

in early February 1919, on the eve of her departure to France as part of a delegation of the Red Cross to negotiate the fate of the Russian soldiers interned there, she wrote: "My dear Inusya. Here I am in St. Petersburg. We drove for an extremely long time. Arrived here just before 10 pm

but we are going so far very comfortable and warm. Today we spent the night in St. Petersburg and this morning we are going further. And in a few hours we will no longer be in our dear socialist homeland (although Inesa went to her homeland - to France - her real homeland, which is noteworthy, she considered Soviet Russia. - W.B.S.). When I left, I had mixed feelings. And I want to go, but when I think about you, I don't feel like it, and in general I think a lot about you, my dear and dear ones. I am adding to your letter: the first letter for Sasha, the second letter for Fedya (sons. - B.S.) and the third letter for Ilyich. Let only you know about the latter. Hand over the first and second letters immediately, but keep the third letter for the time being. When we get back, I'll rip it apart. If something happens to me (I say this not because I think that there is any danger in my journey, but on the road, of course, all

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something, in a word, just in case), then give this letter to Vladimir Ilyich. You can personally hand it to him in this way: go to Pravda, Maria Ilyinichna is sitting there, hand over this letter and say that this letter is from me and personally for Vladimir Ilyich. In the meantime, keep the letter with you. You are my dear daughter. When I think of you, I think of you not only as a daughter, but also as a close friend. Well, goodbye, my dear. In fact, see you soon. Hardly, I think, our trip will last even 2 months. I hug you tightly and kiss you. Your mother. The letter to Vladimir Ilyich is sealed in an envelope. |

The situation, we agree, is unusual and a little piquant. It is not often that a mother has to trust her daughter with her own love letters. And certainly Inessa Fedorovna used Maria Ilyinichna more than once as a channel of communication with Ilyich. Earlier, in her letters to Inesa, her mother also mentioned Lenin more than once. For example, in a letter sent to Astrakhan in mid-September 1918, a month and a half after the failed attempt on the life of the Bolshevik leader: "We were all shocked here by the attempt on Lenin. Now he has completely recovered and is already working ... This event ... has somehow united us even stronger and more closely, and as for Lenin, it seems to me that we all and the masses themselves understood even better how he dear and how necessary it is for the cause of the revolution, we all understood better than ever what great significance he had for it ... "I don't know about the masses, but Inessa Fedorovna thought and felt just that.

It is not known whether Lenin sent Armand to France, succumbing to the persuasion of Krupskaya, or simply

proceeded from considerations of practical expediency. Excellent knowledge of the French language and connections among the French socialists made Ines su a very suitable candidate as a translator.

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talk about the return to their homeland of the soldiers of the Russian expeditionary corps interned in France (so that they do not become cadres of the White armies), and to agitate the French public in favor of the diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia. And in May 1919, about a thousand people were returned to Russia. However, the French authorities were extremely wary of the Soviet mission, fearing the impact of communist propaganda on the population, which had just survived the hardships of the world war. Contacts of the delegation with the outside world were limited to a minimum (at first, members of the mission were even subjected to short-term arrest). The French government insisted that the delegation go home on the same ship as the soldiers released from the camps. From the unaccustomed material poverty of life and the equally unaccustomed intensity of work, propaganda and organizational-clerical, Armand was very tired. In a letter to her daughter Inessa in Astrakhan in October 1918, she reported: "Now we live together with Varya in the same room (on the Arbat, at the corner of Denezhny and Glazovsky lane, house 3/14, apartment 12 - this address, along with the telephone number was preserved in Lenin's notebook. - B. S.), which you saw before leaving. We are desperately cramped, but we console ourselves with the fact that we are cramped, but not offended. Varya sleeps huddled on the couch... I, as usual, run to my council of national economy - in addition, a French group has been created that publishes its own newspaper, the Third International. In addition, the All-Russian Conference of Working Women is being convened... It will take place on November 6 (after this conference, the women's department of the Central Committee was created, which Armand headed. - B.S.)... I missed you so much! I really want to leave everything here and go to you. Recently, I was once very called there (to Astrakhan. - B.S.) by a comrade who came

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from the front, says that there are no workers there, it is necessary to go, etc. She hesitated strongly in this direction, but then she realized that workers were also needed here and work could not be abandoned ... "

I emphasize that this letter was written before Inessa had a conversation with Lenin, and

she received a residence permit in the Kremlin. Perhaps, from this conversation, the romance interrupted in Switzerland was resumed? And Inessa's longing was caused not only by the hardships of life, but also by the fear that Lenin had forgotten about her existence?

In the summer of 1919, shortly after Inesa's return to Moscow, Nadezhda Konstantinovna went on a trip along the Volga and Kama on the Krasnaya Zvezda agitation steamboat. It is curious that the leader of the trip was none other than V. M. Molotov. Is there any connection between these two events? Was Krupskaya's trip caused by the fact that the love of Lenin and Armand gained a second wind? Or, on the contrary, it was thanks to the absence of his wife that Ilyich's romance with her rival received: rapid development? We are unlikely to ever get definite answers to these questions.

In the Volga region, Krupskaya learned a lot of new and unexpected things about the life of the people. She spoke primarily to workers in public education and local women's departments. There was little other audience - the orator, like the publicist, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was none. They came only to look at Lenin's wife.

In the village of Rabotki, not far from Nizhny Novgorod, a wonderful conversation took place with an old peasant. One of Krupskaya's companions turned to him: "You, grandfather, don't you know how people get enlightened?" "But what is your enlightenment to me," the grandfather answered unkindly, "with your enlightenment, we have been sitting without kerosene for the second year." The conversation, however, began. We went into the hut, started talking about the family, children. Okaz

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elk that the old man had four sons in the Red Army. "What are you, a married al widow?" — in turn asked the grandfather. "Married," one of the escorts, the Bolshevik Viktor Petrovich Voznesensky, quickly answered for Nadezhda Konstantinovna. - Do you know who her husband is? Lenin" "Oh! grandfather was amazed. - You're not lying? The biggest bolshak is the husband? Why didn't he go with you?" "Yes, there is no time." "Yes, he has a lot of business," said the grandfather. What, he says, will happen next? Eh?.." "Yes, he says that we will beat Kolchak, and then we will end the war and build the economy in a new way," answered Nadezhda Konstantinovna. "Yes," the grandfather agreed, "here Petruha from the Red Army writes the same thing. "We'll beat you," he says, "and we'll settle down."

The Russian people are accustomed to sanctifying the difficult present with faith in a brighter future. The Bolsheviks had no choice but to exploit this faith. WITH

For the workers and peasants, this tactic has sometimes been successful. Although without Red Army reinforcements. bayonets and KGB Mausers, as well as bread rations, which only the new government distributed, such agitation would hardly have brought a great effect in itself.

But with the intelligentsia it was very bad. She did not believe in fairy tales about a blessed communist future and stubbornly drew attention to various unpleasant moments of modern reality. At the meeting of the educated public in Chistopol, Krupskaya had a hard time. Her report on the topic "The Intelligentsia and Soviet Power" did not arouse enthusiasm among the audience. Following Nadezhda Konstantinovna, a man in pince-nez and with a beard, who introduced himself as a "representative of scientific pedagogy," went up to the podium. He noted that Krupskaya was, of course, right on the question of the need to develop the labor school, but he wanted to say something else. About the cruelty of the Cheka, about the unfair are

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fear, about the lack of freedom of the press. Several teachers present at the rally supported the speaker. "I had to," Krupskaya wrote in her diary, "in the closing speech to talk about bourgeois freedom of the press, about why we do not have freedom of the press, why we have to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and the White Guards with the help of the Chechens, etc. K. turned gray, the layman Za was silent, and some of the teachers began to make excuses. Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not write what was the fate of her opponent. But it is not without reason to assume that now he had a chance to experience the cruelty of the Cheka in his own skin. No wonder those who dared to argue with Lenin's wife turned gray in the face. They felt what was waiting for them after the Red Star steamer moved further along the Kama. |

Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not stand the strain of the trip, with daily performances before far from always friendly-minded listeners. Grabbed the heart. Molotov insisted that Krupskaya rest for a few days. She refused. Then Vyacheslav Mikhailovich informed Lenin about his illness. On July 15, he sent a letter to Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "Dear Nadya! .. I learned from Molotov that you still had an attack of heart disease. It means you are working too hard. We must strictly observe the rules and obey the doctor. Otherwise, you will not be able to work for the winter! Don't forget it! I have already telegraphed you about the affairs in the People's Commissariat of Education: On the eastern fronts - brilliantly. found out today

about the capture of Yekaterinburg. In the south, there is a turning point, but there is still no serious change for the better. We hope it will be ... I hug and kiss you tightly. I ask you to breathe more, work less.

It was not possible to combine work and leisure in an optimal way. Although Nadezhda Konstantinovna has

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the idea came to stay on the newly reclaimed

in Kolchak's Urals seriously and for a long time, to establish schools and libraries here. However, health did not allow. Yes, and Ilyich was categorically against it: "How could you come up with such a thing? Stay in the Urals?! I'm sorry, but I was shocked." In the end, Krupskaya had to return to Moscow before the end of the Red Star mission. The forces were already running out. How do you know if Nadezhda Konstantinovna's heart ailment, as well as her intention to remain, in fact, in voluntary exile in the Urals, was not caused by rumors about the resumption of her husband's relationship with Inessa? In any case, the alleged departure of the wife of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars to the Ural wilderness was in itself a rather scandalous event. And Vladimir Ilyich came out resolutely against the strange, at first glance, intentions of Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

Lenin still hesitated to make the final choice between Armand and Krupskaya. And it was not only the fact that Nadya, of course, was not a stranger, and in his own way Ilyich became strongly attached to her, held him back. Even though she was not as brilliant as Inessa. In addition, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was a very sick person. Throwing her was just inhumane. Although Lenin recognized humanism not as "abstract", but as "class", he certainly sympathized with the suffering of his wife, both physical and moral. He was alien to the ethics of love for the far, some near.

The main thing, I think, was still something else. The leaders of the Bolsheviks were by no means purists. The love affairs of Trotsky or Bukhari did not constitute a secret for the party elite, rumors about them circulated among the people. The chairman of the Central Executive Committee (Inessa was a member of the Central Executive Committee) Kalinin and the immediate head of the Krupskaya People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, were especially distinguished "in the female part."

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Valentinov recalled what accusations were made against the leaders in the last years of Lenin's life,

thanks to the internal party discussion initiated by Trotsky: "It was pointed out that the too great love for ballet - or rather, for ballerinas - of the "all-Russian headman" Kalinin, secretary of the Central Executive Committee Yenukidze, the pompous life of the chairman of the Industrial Bank Krasnoshchekov, the unworthy life of the Commissar of Public Education Lunacharsky and his soup friends of the artist Rosanelle and many others. The old Bolshevik Lunacharsky represented, in fact, all the features of the "NEP rebirth." In the house where I lived (Bogoslovsky per. No. 8, now Moskvinskaya Street, opposite the Korshak Theater), there was some kind of night artistic club above our apartment, where orgies took place with Lunacharsky's indispensable participation in them. Drunken trampling, round dances, songs, women's screams with the electric lighting turned off at the right moments continued until five o'clock in the morning and did not let me sleep. The janitor of our house could often observe how drunk Lunacharsky in a beaver coat was carried out in his arms to get into a cab. A similar disintegration manifested itself in the era of war communism. Only the scale was smaller, due to the general poverty of life. Compared with the orgies of Anatoly Vasilievich and Mikhail Ivanovich, even Lenin's open connection with Armand would look quite innocent.

But there was one important circumstance. Lenin was the leader of the entire party and claimed to be the sole leader of the entire people. Immediately after the October Revolution, the image of Ilyich began to turn into a living icon. In the new myth, the leader's wife, Krupskaya, also took her place. To replace her in the public mind with another - Armand - would not be so easy. And it was not worth questioning the sanctity of the main creator of the revolution and the leader of the world's first socialist state

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in a dangerous time for the Bolsheviks of a fierce civil war. Knowing Lenin, there can be no doubt that in this case, too, he subordinated his feelings for Inessa to the interests of the cause.

Krupskaya often suffered from relapses of Graves' disease. Doctors recommended her outdoor recreation. Lenin placed his wife in a forest school in Sokolniki. And often visited her. The trip to the New Year, 1919, almost ended in tragedy. Here are the meager lines of the MChK report: "In January 1919, on the Sokolnicheskaya highway near the Krasnokholmsky bridge, the Koshelkov gang stopped a car in which the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, was driving. The bandits, at gunpoint, took Lenin's car, Browning revolver, documents and

disappeared ... "Lenin, his sister Maria Ilyinich, bodyguard Chabanov and driver Gil were saved from death by two circumstances. Yakov Koshelkov, who thundered around Moscow in those years, was a criminal bandit, not a political terrorist. For him there was no fundamental difference under what authority to rob - under the tsarist or under the Bolsheviks. He killed only his direct opponents - policemen and Chekists, and even those of the robbed who tried to resist or for some reason did not like the bandits. Luckily for them, Lenin and Gil knew not to resist and survived. There was no reason for the bandits to kill Ilyich. After all, their position would not have changed in the slightest if Lenin had been replaced as head of state by Sverdlov or Trotsky, Kolchak or Denikin.

M. I. Ulyanova left memories of this incident. She claimed that Lenin and his companions mistook the three armed men who had stopped the car for policemen or Chekists who were carrying out routine checks before

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documents. "But what was our surprise," said Maria Ilyinichna, "when the people who stopped the car immediately dropped us all out of the car and, not satisfied with the pass that Vladimir Ilyich showed them, began to search his pockets, putting the barrels of revolvers to his temples, they took away the Browning and the Kremlin pass... "What are you doing, it's Comrade Lenin! Who are you? Show your mandates." "Criminals don't need any mandates..." The bandits jumped into the car, pointed their revolvers at us and set off at full speed in the direction of Sokolniki..."

As we can see, the big name of the chairman of the Soviet People's Commissar and the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution did not make the slightest impression on Yakov Koshelkov and his people. To Lenin, this incident sunk into the soul. And in the book *Childhood Disease of Leftism in Communism*, published a year later, he used this episode to justify the Brest-Litovsk peace retroactively: "Imagine that your car was stopped by armed bandits. You give them money, a passport, a revolver, a car. You are getting rid of the pleasant neighborhood with the bandits... Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was like such a compromise."

The overwhelming majority of readers at that time did not realize that Lenin was describing here not an abstract example, but a very real situation where



he himself was on the verge of death (suddenly one of the bandits would have trembled a finger on the trigger?). Innocent readers also did not know that from other bandits, German, Lenin and his party quietly received money for the Russian revolution, and after October 17th - for the retention of power.

Six months later, in June 1919, Koshelkov fell into a KGB ambush and was mortally wounded. Lenin's "Browning" was found on the deceased and will be returned

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whether the owner. The certificate of the Chairman of the Soviet People's Commissar was never found. Perhaps Koshelkov threw it out as unnecessary.

After returning from France. Armand began to visit Lenin often. Krupskaya testifies: "At the end of 1919, Inessa Armand often came to us, with whom Ilyich especially liked to talk about the prospects of the movement. Inessa's eldest daughter has already been to the front, almost died during an explosion on September 25 in Leontievsky lane (on this day there was a powerful bomb explosion in the premises of the Moscow Party Committee, as a result of which several dozen people were killed and wounded, including the secretary MK V. M. Zagorsky, who was present at the enlarged meeting of the MK I. A. Armand was not injured. - B. S.). I remember how Inessa came to us one day with her youngest daughter Varya, a very young girl then, who later became a most devoted member of the Party. And Ilyich with them, as I put it in the old fashioned way, "brought regiments"; I remember how Varyushka's eyes gleamed. It can be suspected that in the absence of Nadezhda Konstantinovna and girls, Inessa and Ilyich were by no means talking about the "prospects for the movement," and Lenin, if he "brought regiments," then not on the political, but on the love front.

In February 1920, Lenin and Inessa caught a cold and could not visit each other. Krupskaya was also ill at that time. Unfortunately, Armand's telephone went out of order, and it was impossible to call her. Therefore, several Leninist notes of those days, addressed to Inessa, have been preserved: "Dear friend! I wanted to call you, having heard that you are ill, but the telephone does not work. Give me the number, I'll order it fixed. What's wrong with you? Drop two words about health and what. Hello!" Lenin insistently advised to follow all the prescriptions of the doctors, promised to get for Inessa galoshes, which were then in short supply - so that

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she had no more colds. In general, in the period after the October Revolution, the letters and notes of Lenin Armand were quite rare. Lovers communicated directly or by phone. Indeed, with the exception of a three-month trip to France, Inessa was in Moscow almost all the time. Lenin, however, left the capital only for a short time - for rest.

Under the pseudonym Elena Blonina, Inessa Armand published many articles and brochures. She appealed mainly to working women, urging them to support Soviet power. For example, in the article "Workers, remember the village!", Published in Pravda on October 30, 1919, during the period of the most difficult battles with Denikin, Inessa insisted: "The proletariat of the machine tool must lend a helping hand to its darker, more backward sister, the proletarian plow, and join her in their movement... It is necessary for working women to organize weekly Sunday trips out of town, to go round Soviet farms and in each of them to talk with workers and workers, to call on them to join trade unions, to bring them newspapers, inform them of all the news of concern to the proletarians, make them this or that report. But the "proletarians of the plow" did not have any special sympathy for the "proletarians of the machine tool". Perhaps the surplus appraisal was to blame... Peasant women, as well as their husbands, could hardly have been delighted that bread was confiscated from the village for workers and Red Army men, and peasant families were sometimes doomed to starvation. True, the idea of linking the city with the countryside was eventually realized, but not much differently than Inessa imagined it to be. Workers and women workers, as well as the working intelligentsia, really began to travel on weekends to collective farms and state farms, and during the agricultural season - even for whole weeks and months. Just not reports

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to read, not to share news and not to join trade unions to agitate. And work in the fields. Because there were not enough workers in the countryside, and the collective farmers worked carelessly in the public fields, since they had no real incentive to work. Armand did not live to see such a "link". And if she had lived, she would hardly have been happy.

On one of Inessa's brochures, "Why did I become a defender of Soviet power?", which was published in 1919 and reprinted several times in the early 1920s, it is worth dwelling in more detail. This is the only published work of Armand written, as Krupskaya later pointed out, in

"semi-fictional form". And the brochure is intended, as Nadezhda Konstantinovna rightly noted, "for the most gray worker." Most importantly, it is here that the inner world of Inessa Armand, some facts of her biography, and finally, how she rethought her own pre-revolutionary past is revealed to us to the greatest extent (except for the diary and letters).

Inessa wrote the brochure on behalf of a simple worker, in a language that was as accessible as possible for the mass of barely literate women. Stylistically, it turned out well - Ilyich's beloved definitely had a literary talent, which, unfortunately, she did not have time to develop. And as a propaganda tool, Armand's pamphlet is remarkable for its skillful use of traditional Bolshevik methods, through which the proletarians and peasants were convinced that the "temporary difficulties" are to blame for the interventionists and the White Guards, and even the people themselves, who have not yet reached the proper consciousness and are not yet ready unconditionally and recklessly support Lenin's party and selflessly work and fight to build a bright communist future.

Elena Blonina immediately informs the simpleton

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to other readers who believe that they are dealing with a real life story: "I want to tell you how I understood what Soviet power is and why I took its side. It was so.

We have a lot of women working in the factory. Tek styler. The people are getting darker. And here the food is bad, so be it, we let's scold the Soviet government among ourselves: they don't give anything to the working women ... "

As we remember, Inessa was married to a tech stylish manufacturer. Did she have the right to classify herself as a textile worker? Probably in some sense it did. That's about the fact that the dark woman, Inessa, of course, was cunning. Still, besides Russian, she knew four languages and received a licentiate diploma at the New University of Brussels. You can bet that not a single employee of the Pushkinskaya or any other Russian manufactory could boast of such an education. And Blonina's speech, of course, is much more correct, more literary than that of an ordinary weaver at the beginning of the century.

But, let's pay tribute to Inessa Armand, she imagined the position of the workers firsthand. The experience of life in Pushkino and repeated

visits to factories after 1917, frequent conversations with the women who worked for them. Inessa knew very well that the workers were starving in the "unforgettable 1919," to use the title of a play by Vsevolod Vishnevsky, which was popular at the time. Il'ich's girlfriend had to listen to abuse against the Soviets and the Bolsheviks more than once or twice. And in her pamphlet, Armand laid the blame for the "unhealthy moods" among the workers and women on ... intellectuals, who allegedly did nothing but serve their masters, but now they are embarrassing the people, inciting them against the Soviet regime: "And here also Pyotr Nikiforovich, a former foreman at our factory, now works for us

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side by side, it kindles everything, everything says that Soviet power is bad and we don't need anything ... "

Enlightenment to the heroine of the agitation comes along with the "conscious worker" Ivan, who works at the same factory with her. But it was with this pseudonym that Lenin signed some of the letters addressed to Inessa. In the pamphlet, under the influence of Ivan's sermon, a worker gains faith in Soviet power, just as Armand herself once believed in the correctness of the Bolsheviks under the influence of Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Ivan scolds the heroine: "You shouldn't talk about Soviet power. Do you know what Soviet power is? I stopped here, I don't know what to say to him. "Stupid," she says, "after all, Soviet power is our power, the power of workers and working women. It turns out that when you scold her for no reason, you scold yourself. You don't understand anything."

Well, of course, - I say, - and here Pyotr Niki forych scolds her too, and the teacher, and the doctor. Ivan laughs. "Oh you! - speaks. Is it hard to understand? After all, all three of them are bourgeois, they always held the hand of the owner. How can they not scold the workers' power! And you really believed them!

It's really hard to understand and believe. In fact, here Armand condemns his former self. And for this, Inessa had to prevaricate. It was she who once served as a teacher in a working school, and not because she was the wife of a factory owner, she tried to make life easier for workers with the help of the "Society for the Improvement of the Lot of Women". No, Inessa at that time thought that this was the only way to help the suffering and that the rich should voluntarily share with the poor in order to prevent poverty and hunger. Now she firmly believed that only a revolution would make a woman happy and free.

And when Inessa worked in the Society for Better

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participation of women", met with many factory doctors. And she knew very well that these people were by no means accomplices of the owners, but sincerely sought to educate the workers, cared about their health. And the foremen, in their majority, were by no means beasts who tried to strip three skins from the unfortunate proletarians and supplied young workers for the master's pleasures. By the way, Alexander Armand did not seem to be doing anything reprehensible with the girls at his factory. But the interests of the revolution demanded to present a gloomy picture of the recent past and stigmatize the "bourgeois intelligentsia" who did not understand the delights of the new order.

In the pamphlet, the worker first objects to Ivan: "Well," I say, "I got it wrong: Soviet. power and Soviet power! And what do we have from her? She didn't give us anything! Know Ivan immediately raises objections: "It's not true ... The Soviet government gave a lot to female workers. Take at least the rights. Previously, under the power of the bourgeoisie, the worker was completely belittled. She was a slave in the state, in the family, and in the factory. No matter how bad things were then for us workers, we were still able to choose our workers' representatives to fight the bourgeoisie. And your sister didn't have those rights either. All that was heard was that the woman is a fool, women have long hair, and short mind. Women should not be allowed anywhere, they should not be elected to any positions, they say. The bourgeois did not allow you to any elections. So you were unrequited before him. And now, look! The female worker, on a par with the worker, chooses to go to all institutions. Whether in a factory committee, in a trade union, or in the Soviet, everywhere the workers elect their deputies on equal terms with the workers. Only bourgeois and bourgeois are not allowed anywhere. If only we, in our Council, had workers

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manage two departments. Do you remember Comrade Kollontai, so she was even a people's commissar.

Characteristically, out of innate modesty, Inessa chose not to cite herself as an example, but her friend Kollontai. As for the rights allegedly granted to the working woman by the new government, one circumstance is striking here. It is no coincidence that as

those institutions where women are represented on an equal footing with men, Armand lists only factory committees, trade unions and Soviets. In practice, these bodies were only a kind of screen, a signboard for the broad masses, while the real power was concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party. It was the party organs that made the really important decisions that influenced the fate of the country and the position of the same working women. Women were almost not admitted to the highest leading bodies in the party and the state. Only Yekaterina Furtseva was a member of the Politburo, and even then not for long. In the Central Committee, women were in a clear minority; in the government, at best, they could only claim leadership of secondary ministries - culture, health, education. In the army, female soldiers did not rise above the colonel. Rarely did they find themselves at the head of enterprises and institutions, even if the female leader prevailed there.

sonal.

Compared with women in Western Europe and North America, Soviet women continued to be in a much less favorable position even decades after the death of Inessa Armand. They were much less likely than men to get prestigious and well-paid jobs. Soviet women did not play a prominent role in the organs of political power either. One of the reasons for this situation was the lack of

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USSR (as well as in today's Russia) of a feminist movement focused exclusively on the struggle for equal rights for women in all spheres of public and private life.

Inessa, after joining the Bolsheviks, was a staunch opponent of feminism. She believed that any women's organizations should work under the control of the Communist Party and, first of all, defend the class interests of women - workers and peasants. Inessa insisted: not to let the bourgeoisie anywhere. And the "bourgeois women" - these are those who before the revolution were the wives of merchants and manufacturers or worked as teachers and doctors, had an unsuitable class origin, but, unlike "comrade Inessa", did not stick to the Bolsheviks in time.

Let's get back to the brochure. Ivan reminds the ingenuous interlocutor how badly working women lived under the accursed tsarist regime: "Do you remember how it used to be at the factory? Who was the owner? The capitalist merchant Rastorguev, the director Upyrev, and this same Peter Nikifo-

growl, which was the owner's master and first friend. Remember how they treated our brother. And what happened to you, women! Further, he convinces his attentive listener: "Now in factories and factories you are the owner, the worker, together with the worker."

Then Ivan moves on to family life, where the Soviet government also made working women a lot happy: "Now take family life. Under the old laws, when a woman married, she became a slave. Her husband was her master, whom she obliged to obey in everything, who was a full-fledged ruler over her and often beat and tortured her. And the woman had nowhere to look for the truth. Inessa, on behalf of her hero, suggested that the workers seek protection from arbitrariness

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raging spouse in the Soviets, which "now rule everything." And since workers and working women, peasants and peasant women, sit there, it means that they own the power taken from the "bourgeois, kulaks and landowners", it is they who "are the masters of LIFE."

Again, Inessa was cunning. Neither then, in 1919, nor in the following seven decades, did the Soviets have real power in our country. They remained only a sign for the party bodies that made really important political decisions. Workers and working women, and even more so peasants and peasant women, did not exert any significant influence on the adoption of these decisions. To call those who, by the standards of their Western European colleagues, vegetated in poverty, "masters of life", could only be ridiculed. The true "masters of life" remained the highest party hierarchs, who drank the "cup of life" in full. Mikhail Gorbachev's timid attempt to shift power to the Soviets, made in the last months of the communist state, ended in failure in August 1991. But before that it was still very far away, and Inessa Armand was not given to foresee the future.

She, like Lenin, believed that after the CII revolution, "workers and working women can build life as they need it." So Ivan says and continues: "They can build a new joyful world, communism, where there will never be hunger, war, oppression, exploitation, or slavery, where everyone will work and get everything they need." Since there was just war and famine in the present, the Bolsheviks, and Inessa and Ilyich among them, had to feed the people with fables about a brighter future, which is now about to

come.

So that the gloomy present does not look so gloomy,  
Inessa, on behalf of her heroine,

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passes by the past, which paints with the blackest colors: "I came home. She got out and fed her Grishutka. I began to repair the dots for him, and again I thought about Ivan's words ... I remembered how earlier, under the bourgeoisie, we, the workers, lived in the factory. The owner, a merchant Rastorguev, a fat one, had a beautiful house not far from the factory, surrounded by a garden. Yes, in Moscow he also had a mansion. They always used to have music, guests, noise. His wife is also full and beautiful. Dressed in velvet and silk. It used to pass in a carriage, lounging, \_ in response to our bows, he barely nods his head. And we, workers, worked eleven hours a day, and even overtime. I lived in the basement. Gave up corners. Cramped, dark, damp. I spin like a squirrel in a wheel. During the day at the factory, and in the evening at home I work, wash, cook. The salary was quite small, there was nothing to live on. What's the point that there were a lot of things in the shops. It was, but not about us! But we still lived from hand to mouth. It used to be that there was nothing to buy milk for the child. So my first one died. And director Upyrev - that was also a fierce one! Sometimes, not a single girl will be missed, and climbs to them. And the girl will push him away, well, that's the trouble! He will send this same Pyotr Nikiforovich. He finds fault, completely rejects the goods, otherwise he will completely drive him out of the gate: go, they say, my dear, to all four sides. Many girls used to succumb to Upyrev simply because of a piece of bread.

One day, during the war, we, the workers, were no longer able to bear it. Our husbands, brothers have been fighting for the bourgeois for the third year already. And we were left alone with small children. The salary is small, there is absolutely nothing to feed on. And then the winter was so cold. Our mogota was no more. We began to demand an increase in salary. They went out into the street in a crowd, shouting, clamoring. Demanding that we get paid more, yeah

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no more war. One worker turned out to have a red flag and went out into the street with a demonstration. Workers were also hired in other factories. There were a lot of us. We go straight to the Governor's Square. As soon as we got there, it was full of soldiers. The officer shouts to us: "Disperse"



We're moving on. As he shouted again, the soldiers fired. Several works were killed then. So, cordial, and lay, spread out, in the blood. And how many were beaten!"

Reading these lines is funny and sad at the same time. Inessa here refracts the facts of her own biography, as well as the biography of her first husband, in a very peculiar way. Let's start with the fact that Alexander Armand himself participated in a demonstration of the workers of his own factory on November 22, 1907, the day the trial of the Social Democratic faction of the State Duma began. Then dyers and weavers marched through the streets of Pushkin under red flags, singing revolutionary songs. Armand was in their ranks. In the end, the demonstration was dispersed by the police and the Cossacks, but, fortunately, no one was killed. Several dozen demonstrators, including Aleksandr Evgenievich, were arrested. However, Inessa's husband was soon released, banning residence in both capitals and large cities for two years. Alexander Evgenievich chose Dmitrov near Moscow as his place of residence, and then went to the north of France, to the city of Roubaix, where he studied the technology of dyeing fabrics at the Higher School of Applied Arts. Alexander Evgenievich did not look like a bloodsucker manufacturer from a propaganda brochure. And when describing the scene of the dispersal of the demonstration, Inessa used the impressions of the Moscow demonstrations of late 1904 - early 1905, when there were indeed many victims among the demonstrators.

In the brochure, the worker agrees with Ivan:

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"Yes, our lot was hard. Ivan speaks the truth, we were slaves. Well, under Soviet power, all this cannot be. That is why now it is our workers' power. Now we are free birds. We ourselves set up orders everywhere ... "Here Inessa had to turn a blind eye to many uncomfortable things. At least for the fact that the Bolsheviks treated demonstrations they did not like as harshly as the tsarist policemen and Cossacks. One dispersal of a peaceful demonstration in support of the Constituent Assembly in Moscow in January 1918, which, by the way, was also held under red flags, cost, even according to official, clearly underestimated data, 9 killed and 22 wounded. And throughout Russia there were hundreds of such excesses.

The heroine of Inessa is still tormented by doubts, nourished by the realities of life: "Why doesn't the Soviet government make it so that we, workers, live quite well?" And she falls again

into the heresy of disbelief: "...After some time there was such a case. All the time they gave out a very small bread ration, then for several days they stopped giving it altogether. She ran for milk, and the milk cost 40 rubles in a mug. I got tired in the queues. And at home, as if it were a sin, not a grain of flour was left. Well, what can you do! My Grishutka screams, asks for food. That kind of anger took me! I sit on the bed, I almost cry. I think: this is how Soviet power is! After all, there are no bourgeois in the Soviets. Our own workers, our own working women are sitting. Why don't they help us workers? It's hard for us! First, it's a simple day at the factory, then: stand in lines, then mess around with laundry at home! And then there are the guys! Well, how to feed them, drink them when there is no bread! Look at Grishutka's toes already climbing out of his shoes, and there is nowhere to buy boots. And again, I'm at the factory all day long. How can I look after him? Here is a neighbor with a small child

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- so that there is absolutely no one to leave it to. So he takes him with him to the factory, he sits there between the machines. Well, isn't that okay! This already seems to be the first thing our workers should think about. And they, tea, sit there in the Soviets, they beat the buckets, but they forget about us factory workers. Give me, I think, I'll run to Ivan, let him answer me. And then the Soviets, the Soviets, but they forgot about us, the working women. "Followed by an almost documentary sketch of Inessa's visit to Lenin and Krupskaya: "I ran to Ivan. It boils at the heart. He is sitting at tea, sorting through some papers. His wife is sitting right there, drinking tea. I sat next to him. "Well," I say, "Ivan, you keep saying that power is in our hands. But now we, the workers, and our children are sitting without bread. Soldering is something they don't give out for a day. What are you thinking about there? Why don't you make sure that there is bread on time? We didn't elect you (Lenin, it's true, no one ever elected you. - B.S.), so that you ask for chairs in the Soviets. And you keep talking, rallies, meetings, arrange, but do not do anything!" She said so much that another speaker would not have said for a whole hour. The owner of the apartment, in response, delivers a remarkable monologue against the exploiters: "Ivan looked at me that way seriously: "Wait," he says, "don't get excited. Let's take it all in order. The Soviet government is doing everything possible to get bread to the workers in these difficult times. If there is not enough bread, then the tsarist government, the landlords and the capitalists are to blame for this (who else! - B. .S.). They started a predatory three-year war, which led to unseen ruin and complete destruction, both in cities and in villages. With this devastation, it's impossible so soon

cope with. Take our railroads. For three and a half years, they only did that they transported soldiers, delivered military supplies, guns

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they cast it, they made guns and shells (well, casting guns, as well as the production of shells and guns, railroad workers never engaged in the "damned tsarist regime"! - B.S.). And there was no time to repair locomotives and wagons. How many damaged locomotives and wagons are now! So there is nothing to carry bread on, it lingers. The same devastation is in everything else.

And Denikin and Kolchak, the English, French, American, Japanese bourgeoisie are also to blame (did Inessa ever think about what, in principle, foreign "bourgeois", and her relatives, Russian, are worse than those "bourgeois", whom she not only knew very well, but also loved - the brothers Alexander and Vladimir Armandov? - B.S.). They want to restore the old Nikolaev order, to return the land to the landlords, the factories and factories to the capitalists, and to drive us, workers and workers, into bondage (you can see the white armies marching under the slogan: "Land to the landowners"; "Factories - to the capitalists!". - B.S.). But in open battle they cannot defeat us, and therefore they want to take us by starvation. They captured our grain provinces, Ukraine, Don, Kuban, Siberia. They deliberately leave us and our children without bread. Our Soviets would have been able to arrange things long ago, but the bourgeoisie won't give it (a bad dancer, as you know, always gets in the way of eggs; the Soviet government carried out the food program until its death in 1991, but never did it. - RV. S.) . Here we break their filthy strength, then we will know neither hunger nor cold. Get angry then you get angry, but know who. Get angry not at the Soviet government, but at the bourgeoisie, and fight against them together with us. Only then will we more likely achieve everything we need together."

The heroine of the brochure admires: "I explained how I put it in my mouth" (supporters of psychoanalysis will probably interpret this phrase as a subconscious sword

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that Armand about oral sex with Ilyich). But all the same, he objects: "It's good for you to invite:" Fight us! Ehma. The Soviet government will not take care of us at all!" "It is not true," says Ivan, "that So-

The government doesn't care about you workers. Look, we are opening a nursery for small children at our plant. That's where you're going to send the guys. Yes, besides, they arrange a dining room. So you don't have to cook dinner at home (Inessa either didn't know or deliberately kept silent about the fact that unappetizing food in workers' canteens could only be eaten with a very big hunger, or deliberately kept silent. - B.S.). Although it is difficult now, the Soviet government is still opening free canteens and issuing additional rations to children free of charge. They are going to make all the maintenance of children absolutely free. Previously, the children of working women spent more and more time in the basements, but now the Soviet government is pulling them out of the basements and transferring them to good, bright apartments in which the bourgeois used to live. Things are moving, therefore, towards freeing you, working women, and even peasant women, from household chores, in order to transfer all care for children to the state. There are still not enough canteens, nurseries, kindergartens. You can't change everything at once. Well, let's build more! You workers must help the Soviet government in this. Without you, without your help, we workers cannot create a new life. I will say it again: if you want to free yourself, build, work, fight together.

those with us."

Here Armand is repeating long-standing Marxist ideas about women's liberation from housekeeping and childcare. It is felt that in this case, Inessa does not write from the heart, but rather out of duty. After all, from the same Grishutka and his others

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The worker-mother speaks very warmly to the children. It is hard to imagine that the heroine of the pamphlet with great readiness would give the whole care of her own children to the state. In our country, as well as all over the world, women, of course, would be happy to get rid of a significant part of household chores such as washing, cooking, cleaning, the need to sit around the clock with small children. But not at all in order to spend the freed time at the machine tool for a meager salary or in the collective farm field for a symbolic workday. And no real mother will ever want to transfer all care for children to any, even the best state. Inessa was a mother herself and understood this very well. After all, she tried to use every opportunity to be with her children, and on her last trip to Kislovodsk she went with her youngest son, Andryusha, who, by the way, was not so small - 17 years old! But the interests of the revolution required the involvement of women in production, instead of the men who served in the Red Army.

rank. And Inessa stood up for the state education of children, although she hardly believed in its effectiveness. For the sake of an idea, for the sake of the party, for the sake of Lenin, people had to be deceived. Inessa thought that it was necessary, that it would help build a better future, where children could be brought up quite harmoniously. The hungry everyday life of working women, with a meager and not every day issued bread ration, hard and essentially free work, could be countered as the achievements of the new government only free nurseries and canteens. The meager menu after the days was still better than lunch or dinner at home, where at least a rolling ball.

But the most curious thing is that Ivan's monologue, it seems, was not only the fruit of Armand's creative imagination. It turns out that it goes back to the real words of Lenin.

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In 1933, in the 45th issue of the Russian magazine *Illustrirovannaya Rossiya*, published in Paris, the article "Lenin in power" appeared. Its author took refuge under the pseudonym "Chronicler". It is possible that Boris Bazhanov, the former secretary of the Orgburo and the Politburo, who fled to the West in 1929 and settled in Paris, signed this way. Or maybe it was G. A. Aleksinsky, already familiar to us, who published in the same "Illustrated Russia" the memoirs of Elizabeth K.?

In any case, The Chronicler wrote without any sympathy about the leader of the world proletariat: "From the very beginning, he perfectly understood that the peasantry would not, for the sake of the new order, not only make selfless sacrifices, but also voluntarily give up the fruits of their labor. And alone with his closest collaborators, Lenin did not hesitate to say exactly the opposite of what he had to say and write officially. When it was pointed out to him that even the children of the workers, i.e., of the very class for whose sake and in whose name the coup was carried out, were malnourished and even starving, Lenin indignantly parried the claim: "The government cannot give them bread. . Sitting here, in St. Petersburg, you won't get bread. You have to fight for bread with a rifle in your hands... If they don't know how to fight, they will die of starvation!.." It is quite possible that one of those closest collaborators with whom Ilyich shared his revelations about the ways in which the proletariat could earn its living, there was also Armand. Because about the same, only in a milder form, the Bolshevik Ivan (Lenin) convinced the worker.

It is curious that this story of the Chronicler is from

erupted in Mikhail Bulgakov's immortal novel The Master and Margarita. There, one of the episodic characters is the "dramatic artist" Savva Potapovich Kurolesov, with the help of Pushkin

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- "The miserly knight" convincing the arrested foreigners "voluntarily" to give the state all the currency and valuables. In an earlier edition of the novel, this unsympathetic character was called much more transparently - Ilya Vladimirovich Akulinov. In the final text of The Master and Margarita, Bulgakov gave the character a less risky first name, patronymic, and last name so as not to tease future censors.

In this case, the parody of Lenin was too obvious. Two couples immediately catch the eye: Vladimir Ilyich - Ilya Vladimirovich and Ulyana - Akulina (the latter is a stable combination in folklore). By the way, the card game "Aunt Akulina" was one of Lenin's favorite games during the period of emigration.

Akulinov, together with the hero of Pushkin, "confessed that some unfortunate widow, howling, knelt before him in the rain, but did not touch the artist's callous heart ... The artist died an evil death, shouting: "Keys! My keys! ", After that, falling to the floor, wheezing and tearing off his tie. When he was dead, he got up, brushed the dust off his tailcoat knees, bowed, smiling a fake smile, and, amid liquid applause,

poured..."

Bulgakov knew about the "evil end" of Lenin, paralyzed and deprived of the opportunity to speak and write, he also knew that, as if in anticipation of the resurrection, the embalmed body of the new saint was placed in the Mausoleum. And he angrily parodied this "resurrection" in the form of a just false VO Kurolesov-Akulinov, who "died" on the stage and immediately, as if nothing had happened, bowed before the forced spectators.

When Lenin was talking about the need for the workers to get their own bread with a rifle in their hand, when Inessa wrote a pamphlet calling on the workers to support Soviet power and to believe,

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that it is better than any other, they did not know their future. But here's the real thing. or else they knew. And it was much worse than the "damned royal

of the past".

Mark Aldanov, in the following internal monologue, conveyed Lenin's experiences in the last years of his life: "The fact that the former bourgeoisie was starving, of course, could only please him. He didn't regret it at all. intelligentsia - it imperceptibly merged with the bourgeoisie, so that sometimes it was impossible to distinguish. But the deprivation of the peasants was another matter. And it was absolutely hard for him that in even worse poverty than under the old system, the workers lived, the same proletariat about which he spoke and wrote all his life. With the exception of a small number of emigrants who had come to power, the workers really were dying of starvation—before these words were still only a very good figurative expression in polemics. Of course, one could assure that this was temporary, that soon they would live excellently. But their situation worsened, and they themselves no longer believed in a future earthly paradise. He still continued to repeat something about the historical mission of the proletariat, but these words, which in general meant little, now turned into a mockery of himself. In addition, people from the "workers' and peasants' poor" turned out to be not better at work, but worse than the Bolsheviks who came out of the bourgeoisie. The cook, it turned out, did not know how to rule the state. I don't know about Lenin, but Nadezhda Krupskaya and, especially, Inessa Armand, probably thought something like this ...

But in the brochure, Inessa still convinces the workers that anyone else is to blame for their troubles: the deposed tsar, the bourgeoisie and landowners, the interventionists and the White Guards, at worst, the workers themselves, who are not actively helping the new government to put the yoke on themselves. Everyone who is to blame

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anything but the Bolsheviks. And the pamphlet is crowned by a delegate meeting of working women, where Ivan invited his friend Elena Blonina. And for the meeting, Inessa did not regret providing the former Armand house, turned into a working club: "I got there for the first time (is it really the first? - R.B.S.). I was not interested before ... I look: we are real good. The ceilings and walls are painted. Blue silk furniture, silk curtains... I think: this is how our merchants used to live..." It must be assumed that Armand described her former house accurately, down to the details of the situation. Moreover, she painted her own portrait - in a woman in a red scarf, whose speech the main character listens to: "Blond, so pretty, and so well began to talk to us about our life - I even cried. She said both about Denikin and Kolchak that we and our children are being washed away without bread. So she touched me. I thought that

educated, but it turned out she was also a worker, she left the machine for only a year (with a licentiate degree from the Bruce of the rural university! - B.S.). I didn't know that workers could speak so well. I listen to her and think: "It is true that Denikin and Kolchak are to blame. But why are we fighting them? —

Although I was afraid, and very unusually, but I didn't get over it, I took it and asked: But why doesn't the Soviet government end the war? The speaker looked at me with such a sweet smile on her young face. and says: "The Soviet government does not want war. It does not want to shed the blood of workers and peasants. How many times has our Soviet government offered peace to all the governments fighting against us. But the bourgeois want only one thing: to strangle the working class, to drown it in blood. See how Denikin brutally cracks down on the workers and peasants in the Ukraine. He spares no one. We have to fight with them, for our freedom, for bread, for coal, for our most vital cause, for the best

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life, for communism. Help, working women, in this struggle of the Red Army, and by our united efforts we will defeat the enemies and achieve peace forever."

Let's estimate: Armand, unlike Krupskaya, had something to lose before going "into the revolution". Not only beloved children, but also quite tangible wealth. But she did not hesitate to put aside her happy past. All the more respect deserves Inessa's conviction in the rightness of her cause, the cause of the revolution. But the fact that such a pretty woman, not only outwardly but also inwardly, like Inessa Armand, being of sound mind and memory, became a professional revolutionary, a Bolshevik, and then fell in love with Lenin and was loved by him, is more and does not justify the revolution at all. After all, this love does not cancel those countless crimes committed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the name of the triumph of Marx's communist ideas...

The same Chronicler stated: "Lenin was in no way an admirer or follower of the Marquis de Sade. He was not cruel either by nature or by illness. He was cruel in conviction, ideologically, in the interests of the cause - the revolution - socialism. More than once he literally repeated the words of Colo d'Herbois (one of the leaders of the Jacobins. - B.S.): in the name of achieving one's revolutionary goals, everything is permitted! And the agents of the Leninist government in the center and in the localities proved that for them, indeed, there is nothing that is not permitted. And in fact, using terror in the widest possible way, Vladimir Ilyich



was driven solely by considerations of political expediency, and not by any feelings or emotions. Trotsky recalled how in the first months after the victory of the October Revolution, when many Bolshevik leaders, including Lev Davidovich himself, still had hopes that it would be possible to avoid the mass use of

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"revolutionary violence," Lenin immediately began to convince them that it was impossible without terror. When, on the initiative of Lev Borisovich Kamenev, the law adopted under Kerensky on the restoration of the death penalty at the front was repealed, Lenin's indignation knew no bounds. He knew that it would be necessary to shoot not only at the front, but also in the rear. "Nonsense," Ilyich repeated more than once. - How can you make a revolution without executions? Do you really think to cope with all enemies, disarm yourself alive? What other measures of repression are there? Imprisonment? Who attaches importance to it during a civil war, when each side hopes to win? And he proposed immediately to cancel the decree abolishing the death penalty at the front. According to Trotsky, "they objected to him, pointing out that this would produce an extremely unfavorable impression. Someone said: it's better to just run to the execution when it becomes clear that there is no other way out. In the end, they stopped there." This practice turned out to be very convenient. As a result, they began to shoot not on the basis of laws or even decrees, but simply in an administrative manner, on the basis of decisions of the central and local Cheka.

On June 26, 1918, Lenin wrote to Zinoviev indignantly: "Comrade. Zinoviev! Only today we heard in the Central Committee that the workers in St. Petersburg wanted to respond to the assassination of Volodarsky with mass terror, and that you (not you personally, but the St. Petersburg Central Committee or Pekists) held back. I object strongly! We compromise ourselves: even in the resolutions of the Council of Deputies we threaten mass terror, and when it comes down to it, we hinder the revolutionary initiative of the masses, which is quite correct. This is impossible! The terrorists will consider us rags. Archival time. We must encourage the energy and mass character of terror against the counter-revolutionaries, and especially in St. Petersburg, an example of which

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decides. Hello! Lenin. More simply, Lenin's thought can be conveyed as follows: "Evseich! How is it that the people demand terror, but you do not allow it! 'Yes us

stop being afraid! Look, otherwise we'll shoot for an example, so that the masses won't be offended! Even though you and I in exile have drunk more than one tank of beer. And Grigory Evseevich did not disappoint. He fulfilled and exceeded the leader's demand, turning Petrograd into an exemplary city from the point of view of staging the case of mass terror there.

Lenin himself in 1919, in an interview with the American writer and journalist L. Steffens, developed a whole philosophy of terror, its practical justification: "Terror serves what it should serve ... We must find some way to get rid of the bourgeoisie, upper classes. They will not let us make any economic changes that they would not have made before the revolution, so they must be kicked out of here ... The only solution I see is that the threat of the Red Terror will spread the horror and you will need them to flee. No matter how it is done, it must be done..." At the same time, Ilyich kept silent about one important circumstance: in order to frighten the "upper classes", for some reason a fair number of representatives of the middle and lower classes had to be sent to the other world for the company: intellectual. comrades, officers, peasants, and sometimes even "unconscious" proletarians. For example, in Izhevsk and Votkinsk, where they preferred to fight with weapons in their hands on the side of the Committee of the Constituent Assembly, and later Kolchak, and where the executions of hostages and repressions against working families by the Reds were especially cruel.

The Bolshevik leader sought to convince Steffens that terror is a great thing and absolutely necessary for a real revolution: "Do not deny terror. Don't underestimate any of the evils of revo

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lucia. They cannot be avoided. We must count on this in advance: if we have a revolution, we must be ready to pay its costs. There will be terror. It deals heavy blows to the revolution both from within and without, and we must figure out how to avoid it, control it or direct it. But we need to know more about psychology than we know now to get the country through this madness."

Then, in the summer of 1918, when it arose. Because of the threat of Baku being captured by Turkish troops, Lenin proposed to burn the entire city (fortunately, this idea was not implemented). And on October 9, 1918, he proposed to the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Committee "immediately impose mass terror, shoot and take out hundreds of prostitutes who solder soldiers, former officers, etc." Considering that under war communism the Red Army

The tsy were one of the few who always received a reasonable ration, they undoubtedly became a tasty prey for prostitutes. And in conditions when almost the entire population was starving, almost the majority of women were forced to engage in prostitution to one degree or another. Thus, the main part of the population could easily fall under the influence of Lenin's instructions, especially considering the meaningful "Etc. Yes, Ilyich sternly offered to deal with those whom Inessa, in her younger years, unsuccessfully tried to wrest from the embrace of vice.

But not only them Lenin was ready to sacrifice the revolution. For example, in mid-August 1920, just when such a sincere letter was written to Inessa with a proposal to take a rest in the Caucasus, Lenin proposed to punish the Baltic states for obstinacy in the following way: 10-20 versts and hang kulaks, priests, landlords. Prize 100,000 rubles. for the hanged man. And Trotsky in Petrograd on October 22, 1919,

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during the most tense days of the struggle against Yudenich, he wrote: "If the offensive has begun, is it possible to mobilize another 20 thousand Petersburg workers plus 10 thousand bourgeois, to put machine guns behind them. to shoot several hundred and achieve a real mass pressure on Yudenich? And on August 10, 1918, he sent a note to the People's Commissar for Food A.D. Tsyuru: "The draft decree - in each grain volost, 25-30 hostages from the rich, responsible for the collection and dumping of all surplus."

Such "execution" letters and notes of "the most humane of men" can be quoted ad infinitum. And sometimes the leader did not kill with a bullet - with hunger. So he wrote in February 1920: "To reduce the available bread ration for those who are not working in transport; increase for workers. Let thousands more perish, but the country will be saved." The idea that in order to build a new communist society it would be necessary to exterminate part of the population proved to be very tenacious. The worthy successor of Lenin, Pol Pot, the head of the Khmer Rouge, believed, for example, that out of the seven million population of Cambodia, only two million deserved a bright future, and the remaining five must die, and the sooner the better.

Of course, neither Armand nor Krupskaya could have known all the documents of this kind. It can even be assumed (although this is doubtful) that no one

Lenin's "terrorist" document they have never seen. But about the implementation of the "Red Terror", about the widely practiced taking of hostages and their subsequent execution, both Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Inessa Fyodorovna had to draw information every day at least from the newspapers, since the Bolsheviks did not hide the terror at all. Yes, and from official papers, both women probably received some information that

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happening in the country. And they could not but understand that the initiator of the terror is none other than their adored Ilyich. But Armand and Krupskaya approved of the repressions against the "counter-revolutionaries", justified them as a response to the "white terror". Although, in fact, not a single "white" government has pursued terror as a state policy. Separate excesses of army chiefs and officials of counterintelligence in scope could not be compared with the "Red Terror". But Ines and Nadezhda not only accepted and approved of terror. They continued to love its creator:

This suggests a comparison with Eva Braun, the long-term mistress of Adolf Hitler, on the eve of the collapse of the Third Reich, who became the Fuhrer's wife and committed suicide with him. The difference between her and Lenin's women is striking. The terror carried out by the Nazis, in particular the genocide against Jews and Gypsies, was hidden from public view. German newspapers did not report on mass executions and repressions in the occupied territories. Not only millions of Germans, but also many of Hitler's inner circle did not know about the tragic fate of millions of Jews and thought that they had simply been resettled somewhere far to the East. In the same way, Eve, indifferent to politics, did not know what her dear Adolf was doing, and was ready to be with him both in life and in death.

But Krupskaya and Armand were in a different position. They knew about the affairs of the Soviet government, if not everything, then a lot. Revolution and communism were for them not only the work of a loved one, but also their own work. Moreover, Inessa and Nadezhda loved Lenin not only as a man, but also as a political leader. And in the end they were forced to accept Lenin's morality: everything that is good for the revolution is moral and good. Let us also take into account that neither Lenin, nor Hitler, nor Stalin, nor

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Saddam Hussein did not personally kill anyone. They only acted as ideologists of terror and gave orders, verbal and written, with or without a number, about the murders of tens and hundreds, thousands and millions of objectionable and suspicious people who did not fit on racial, class, national or any other grounds. Personally, the leaders of despotic regimes could not be cruel people, they loved animals, they showed kindness and care for relatives and friends, valets and chauffeurs, not to mention those women they loved.

And those who loved them saw, first of all, strong, strong-willed men, followed by millions, men who served great ideas, the ideas of equality and race, brotherhood and soil, earthly paradise and national rebirth. Such ideas seemed to justify the blood shed for them. Over time, it is the turn of the followers of the idea themselves. Nietzsche rightly said: "As soon as a religion gains dominance, all those who were its first followers become its opponents."

Armand certainly believed in the revolution. But, who knows, if Inessa had lived longer, after Lenin's death she would not have turned into an opponent of Marxism, into a resolute critic of the Soviet experience in building socialism. After all, another "woman of the Russian revolution" did a similar evolution - Anzhelika Balabanova. If Inessa followed her example, then she would have two possible fates. Or perish in time of one of Stalin's purges. Either return to their homeland, to France, and start a new life there - either as a pianist, or as a writer, or as a political publicist, but already defending views that are directly opposite to the previous ones.

However, if she survived Lenin, but did not change her convictions, there could also be two options for fate. Like the old guard pain

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Shevikhov, Inessa had a chance of dying in 1937, especially if she had time to take part in some kind of opposition by that time. Indeed, in the eyes of the parties, and even more so of the people, the name Armand is in no way associated with the name of Lenin, and after death Ilyich could not defend her in any way. | But it could have happened otherwise: Inessa would not have fallen into the meat grinder of repression or escaped with the Gulag. I would have lived until the thaw, I would have written my memoirs "My meetings with Lenin." There, obeying Party discipline and the established tradition of icon veneration, I would not say a word about my love for Ilyich. Everything is only about the implementation of Lenin's instructions

ny, about the wise thoughts of the leader, about his brilliant foresight. Moreover, probably, not at all a bow, about Lenin's humanity and kindness. Inessa was one of the few who truly had the right to write about Lenin in this way. But she was not destined to live up to the memoirs. It was destined to be different. Armand's life path was coming to an end. And involuntarily, the role of the evil genius here was played by the person dearest to her. After the International Conference of Communist Women, which took place within the framework of the Second Congress of the Comintern, Inessa, according to Krupskaya, "could hardly stand on her feet." After all, I had to work 14-16 hours a day. Ilyich was very concerned about the health of his mistress and in mid-August 1920 wrote her a letter with a proposal to go to rest in some sanatorium: "Dear friend! It was very sad to find out that you were overtired and dissatisfied with work and those around you (or work colleagues). Can I help you by arranging in a sanatorium? With great pleasure I will help in every possible way. If you are going to France, I am ready, of course, to help too; I'm afraid, and even just afraid, I'm very afraid that you'll fly in there... They'll arrest you and won't let you out for a long time... You should be more careful. Wouldn't it be better to go to Norway (there in English

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many people know) or to Holland? Or to Germany as a French, Russian (or Canadian?) subject? It would be better not to France, otherwise they will put you there for a long time and even hardly exchange them for anyone. Better not to France.

And immediately Ilyich paints the delights of rest on Russian soil (he had just returned from the well-known Inessa Zabolotye near Sergiev Posad, where he hunted in the forests that formerly belonged to the Armands): "I had a wonderful rest, got tanned, didn't see a line, one call. Work used to be good, now everything is ruined. Everywhere I heard your last name: "There was order under them (Armandach. - B.S.), etc.

If you don't like the sanatorium, why not go south? To Sergo in the Caucasus? Sergo will arrange a rest, the sun (I'm afraid even the all-powerful Leninist governor of the Caucasus, Ordzhonikidze, could not cope with nature, but Lenin, it seems, already believed that the course of the heavenly bodies was in the hands of the Bolsheviks. - B.S.), good work, probably will do. He is the power there. Think about it".

To her misfortune, Inessa listened to Lenya's advice and decided, together with her youngest son Andrei, to rest in the Caucasus. Already on August 18, Ilyich wrote to Ordzhonikidze: "T. Sergo! Inessa Armand leaves

Today. I ask you not to forget your promise. It is necessary that you telegraph to Kislovodsk, give the order to arrange for her and her son to be properly arranged and to follow up the execution. No verification. they won't do a damn thing (the leader knew his native bureaucrats very well. - B.S.). Answer me, perhaps a hundred, by letter, and if possible, by telegram: "I received the letter, I will do everything, I will put the check correctly." I kindly ask you, in view of the dangerous situation in the Kuban, to establish contact with Inessa Armand so that she and her son are evacuated, if necessary, in time to Petrovsk and Astrakhan,

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or arrange (the son is sick) in the mountains near the Caspian coast and generally take all measures.

Lenin also provided Inessa with a letter of recommendation addressed to the administration of resorts and sanatoriums in the Caucasus: Inessa Fyodorovna Armand, with her sick son. I ask you to give these party comrades personally known to me full confidence and all assistance. And he signed as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. This letter. brings a smile. The assertion that Lenin allegedly knows Inessa's son as a trustworthy "party comrade" is very amusing. After all, Andrei was then only seventeen years old, and he was not a member of the party. Either Ilyich was in a hurry, or he decided that butter would not spoil the porridge: let them consider Andrei a party member, perhaps they will take better care of it. And they won't leave you if someone who has taken cover suddenly comes up to the sanatorium. detachments of whites in the mountains.

Sergo did everything right. He provided the best sanatorium in Kislovodsk and helped to get there as soon as possible. In Kislovodsk, Inessa for the first time began to keep a diary, to the limit frank conversations with herself. The diary has been preserved. It so happened that before her death, Inessa opened her soul to us. This diary is worth quoting almost in full:

"1/TX 1920. Now there is time, I will write every day, although my head is heavy, and it still seems to me that I have turned into some kind of stomach here, which endlessly asks for food. And you don't hear or know about anything here. In addition, some kind of wild desire for loneliness. It tires me, even when others are talking around me, not to mention the fact that it is positively difficult for me to speak positively. Will this feeling of inner death ever go away? I've gotten to the point where it seems strange to me that

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others laugh so easily and that they seem to enjoy talking. Now I almost never laugh and smile, not because an inner joyful feeling prompts me to do so, but because sometimes I have to smile. I am also struck by my current indifference to nature. After all, she used to shock me so much. And how little I now began to love people. Before, I used to approach each person with a warm feeling. Now I'm indifferent to everyone. And most importantly, I miss almost everyone. A warm feeling remained only for the children and for V.I. In all other respects, the heart seemed to have died out. As if, having given all his strength, all his passion to V.I. and the cause of work, all sources of love, sympathy for the people for whom it used to be so rich were exhausted in him! With the exception of V.I. and my children, I no longer have any personal relationships with people, but only business ones. And people feel this deadness in me, and they repay with the same coin of that indifference or even antipathy (but before they loved me). And now the ardent attitude to the matter is also drying up. I am a person whose heart is gradually dying... Involuntarily, Lazarus risen from the dead comes to mind. This Lazarus knew death, and the imprint of death remained on him, which frightens and repels all people from him. And I, too, am a living corpse, and it's terrible! Especially now, when life is bubbling around."

Very symptomatic! During the three years of the revolution and civil war, Inessa from a cheerful, not yet old woman, striving to help people, turned into some kind of shadow of a person, as she herself defines it, into a living corpse. What is left in her life? Love for Ilyich, his children and the revolution. But also about. Revolution Inessa is already experiencing some doubts. Otherwise, there would not have been words in her diary that "now the

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and an ardent attitude to the cause, "that she no longer has personal relations with anyone except children and Lenina, which means that she does not have them with her comrades in the struggle either. Let Armand always promoted the public education of children, weakening the influence of the family on a growing testimony. At the end of her life, she came to two main life values: family and love. These values, personified by the children and Ilyich, perhaps even against the will of Inessa, pushed thoughts of revolution into the background.



The next entry in Armand's diary is dated September 3, 1920. Here is her text: "I didn't write yesterday, I went for a walk, and then I couldn't write, because there is no light bulb in our room. Here, in Kislovodsk, little else has been established. Power was taken recently - and therefore all the characteristic features of such an initial stage of power. The current Kislo Vodsk reminds me very much of 1918 in Moscow. The same lack of organization, the same fragility of the authorities, associated with assassination attempts, riots, etc. Only here the situation is more difficult, because there is no proletariat, which in Moscow and the Moscow province has always been a reliable support in the most difficult moments. Here there is not much proletariat, and little work has been done in the villages, to be honest, I have no idea how to carry on the work here.

There are many large owners in the villages - rich peasants. In the mountains, according to rumors, gangs of whites still walk. The other day, two responsible workers were killed. Some patients in this regard are very worried - they are afraid of an attack. I'm a little afraid only for Andryusha - for my dear son. I am weak in this respect - not at all like a Roman matron who easily sacrifices her children in the interests of the republic. I can't. I am incredibly afraid for my children. I cannot keep them from danger—I have no right to keep them. But I suffer from it

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I fear for them endlessly. I have never been a coward for myself, but I am a big coward when it comes to my children and especially Andryusha. I can't even think of what I'll have to go through if he ever has to go to the front, and I'm afraid he'll have to. After all, the war will continue for a long time. Someday our foreign comrades will rise. {

Yes, we are still far from the time when the interests of the individual and the interests of society will fully coincide. Now our lives are full of sacrifices. There is no personal life because all the time and energy are given to the common cause. Or, perhaps, I don't know how, others, perhaps, still cut out for themselves at least a small corner of happiness? Relations between people are strange these days. Right now I am watching a scene, though not from real life, but from the life of a resort. There are no former old relationships - what used to be called acquaintance. In general, in life, people no longer go to visit each other. Relationships are more businesslike. Here in the resort, especially on rainy evenings, people visit each other "just like that". And yet, this is not quite what it was before, although the philistine in the 'public, of course

but a lot more."

In this entry, anxiety for the fate of the children is striking. I must say right away that Inessa's fears about the fate of her youngest son turned out to be prophetic. Andrei really had to go to the front, only 21 years later, and his mother did not live to see it. In 1941, Andrei Alexandrovich went to fight as part of the Moscow militia and, at the front, finally joined the party. He did not live to see the victory: the disease crippled him. It is worth noting that the war with Germany that broke out on June 22 was prepared by Stalin instead of the failed "uprising of foreign comrades." The Red Army was supposed to bring on bayonets a non-existent "pro

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letarian revolution" to Western Europe. But it so happened that Hitler managed to strike first, and in the fall of the 41st son of Inessa, it was not necessary to storm Berlin, but, together with other militias, who often did not even have rifles, block the enemy's path to Moscow with their own bodies.

Until the last days of her life, Inessa continued to idealize the proletariat, to believe in the extraordinary ability of this class to create something new. Difficulties with the establishment of Soviet power and the establishment of a normal life in Kislovodsk and its environs, she explained the almost complete absence of proletarians in this area. At the same time, Armand felt that something was wrong in the formation, the triumph of which she devoted almost her whole life to. Inessa saw a growing gap between personal interests and goals set on behalf of society. She admitted that she was not ready to sacrifice her children to the revolution. Namely, such sacrifice was proclaimed a social ideal.

And further. Inessa noticed that relations between people, even convinced party members, did not become, as they dreamed before the revolution, sincere and pure, devoid of "philistine". Probably, by this word she meant ordinary resort romances, which she happened to be a witness to. Such a fleeting affair was not for Inessa. Only Vladimir Ilyich was for her the object of love passion. And to unite with him, Inessa thought, if it was possible, it would not be very soon - after the victory of the world revolution, when the "foreign comrades" would rise. As long as the class war rages on, the Bolshevik leader will not have time to arrange his personal life.

After September 3, there is a big break in the records. IN

the next time Inessa turned to the diary only on September 9th. She wrote again about the growing alienation

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from others: "It seems to me that I walk among people, trying to hide my secret from them - that I am a dead man among people, that I am a living corpse. Like a good actor who repeats over and over again a scene that no longer excites or inspires him, I repeat from memory the corresponding gestures, smile, facial expression, even words that I used before when I really experienced the feelings they express. But my heart remains dead, my soul is silent, and I fail to completely hide my sad secret from people. I still feel some kind of chill, and people feel it and shun me. I understand that this phenomenon is rooted in physiological causes - overwork of the nerves? neurasthenia? Something like that. But it is hardly curable. I'm no longer tired, I'm tired of doing nothing, but the inner deadness remains. And since I can no longer give warmth, since I no longer radiate this warmth, I can no longer give happiness to anyone.

Inessa did not dare to admit even to herself that, of course, it was not a matter of physiology, not overwork, not exhaustion of the nervous system. Everything was much more serious. Inessa was afraid to write even in her most intimate diary that she was disappointed in the revolution. Her soul became dead because it lost the core idea. Too much blood had to be shed to ensure the triumph of the "proletarian revolution". Why is it that so many people do not want to understand their happiness? And why does she herself no longer experience inner satisfaction from the fact that she is working for the good of the revolution? Inessa implicitly had these thoughts, for sure, arose. e

Of course, Armand did not personally participate in the implementation of the "Red Terror". But she could not help but know about him, from the newspapers and from the stories of her comrades. And in pussy

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The Lovodsk sanatorium could directly observe the "Red Terror" in action. After all, the murder of two responsible workers by the White Guards, mentioned in the diary, did not remain without consequences. As Yevsey Richterman, one of those vacationing with Inesa, recalled, "terror begins around the corner against responsible workers (comrades are killed).

rischi Zentsov and Lonin). We are responding with red terror. In this case, this most likely meant the taking hostage and execution of several wealthy citizens, as well as those who were suspected of counter-revolutionary activities. As a rule, the victims were innocent, who were not involved in any crimes against the Soviet power. But Inessa did not write anything about the "Red Terror" in Kislovodsk in her diary. So, it was not a curiosity for her and did not cause any condemnation. Maybe she believed that the Bolsheviks only shot the notorious enemies of the revolution. Or did she adopt the revolutionary principle: they cut down the forest - the chips fly?

Inessa made the following entry on September 10: "Yesterday I read the report on the Congress of the Peoples of the East and was very worried. This most important event—this congress, just like the congress of the Third International—astonishingly soldered the movement of the workers of various countries, soldered it not by revolution, but actually in action, just as, I think, the Congress of the Peoples of the East will succeed in in action the actions of these peoples. It is only interesting to what extent it will be possible to actually make the resolutions of the Congress the property of the broad masses of the Eastern peoples. Somehow I don't believe this is possible. After all, everything is still so wild, so dark there.

The Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku, adopted a resolution on the reburial of the bodies of 26 Baku commissars here, including Yakov Zevin, well known to Inessa. They certainly met in Moscow in 1917, while Zevin in August

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did not go to Baku, and Inessa already knew for sure

what is the real name of her dear Savva. Mo

maybe the congress of the peoples of the East is why so zain

wondered Armand that she had stumbled upon a familiar

name, remembered their short love, mourned the death

Parisian friend? And she didn't know how to live. there are only a few days left.

It is also noteworthy that Inessa doubted the feasibility of the goals proclaimed by the party, even if only in relation to the countries of the East, in her opinion, wild and dark. But, knowing Western Europe well, didn't she see that in terms of the level of civilization Russia is very far from France or Switzerland, but in terms of the predominance of the peasantry and the level of literacy, it is rather approaching India

or China? Didn't she then, in the autumn of 1920, cast doubt on the success of the socialist experiment in our country? After all, the Russian outback, where Inessa happened to be in exile, seemed to her wild and dark, like the unknown East.

The last entry in the diary was made by || September 1920 (which the latter, Inessa, of course, did not assume): "I just re-read" 5 (. Mage "(the novel by the French romantic writer Alfred Victor de Vigny" Saint-Mar .-- B.S.) - it amazes me how far we have come, thanks to the revolution, from the old romantic ideas about the meaning of love in human life. For romantics, love takes the first place in human life, it is above everything. And until recently I was much closer to such an idea than I am now. True, for me love has never been the only one. Along with love there was a public cause. Both in my life and in the past there were many cases when I sacrificed my happiness and my love for the sake of a cause. But still, before it seemed that love has the same place in its significance as a public affair. Now this is no longer the case.

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The significance of love, compared with social life, becomes very small, unable to withstand any comparison with social work. True, love still occupies a large place in my life, it makes me suffer greatly, it occupies a significant part of my thoughts. But still, I never cease to realize that, no matter how much it hurts me, love, personal attachments are nothing compared to the needs of the struggle. That is why the views of the romantics, which previously seemed quite acceptable, now already seem ... "

At these words, the recording abruptly ends. Armand never had time to finish it. Cases connected with the threat of attack by the whites and the hasty evacuation from Kislovodsk, and then the illness, distracted her from the diary. Poor Inessa tried to remake her soul, akin just to the souls of the romantics of the twentieth century. I tried to convince myself that in the new century, the 20th century, love would inevitably be pushed into the background by the need to serve the public good. But she immediately admitted that she had repeatedly sacrificed love and happiness for the cause of the revolution. It means that true happiness was brought to Inessa after all by love, and not by revolutionary struggle. Perhaps, she had in mind not only love for Lenin as an example when she had to sacrifice the personal in favor of the public, but also an earlier love for the already deceased Savva?

Inessa emphasized that the feeling for Ilyich even now occupies a place in her soul no less than the revolution. And she probably suffered from the mere fact that she had to be away from her beloved. Although she suffered no less because, being next to Lenin in Moscow, she could only occasionally see him.

After the last entry, there was also the last letter to my daughter Inessa, sent in mid-September: "My dear Inusya, maybe you

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I have already returned from my expedition and you are in Moscow. Just in case, I am writing to you.

We have been in Kislovodsk for 3 weeks now and I cannot say that Andrei and I have gained much weight so far ... He, it is true, has become very refreshed and tanned, but has not put on any weight yet ... At first I slept all day and night. Now, on the contrary, I sleep very badly. I take sunbaths and showers, but the sun here is not particularly hot, not like the Crimean one, and the weather is not very good: frequent storms, and yesterday it was so completely cold. In general, I can't say that I was very delighted with Kislovodsk ...

We got through quite successfully, although we traveled the last part of the journey with long stops, and for several days after us the trains did not run at all. There are a lot of rumors here - you won't get it, panic too. However, now everything has calmed down more or less ... At times it seems: why not stay and work in the Caucasus? How do you think?"

The daughter read this letter after her mother's death. It can be seen from it that the last one: in her life, Inessa Armand spent her vacation bleakly. And the reason for this is not bad weather, obviously insufficient and monotonous food, or too much overwork in the previous months. Poisoned. Inessa rest heavy emotional experiences associated with both the revolution and Lenin. It is interesting that, although she actively did not like Kislovodsk, she seriously considered staying in the Caucasus for a longer period, finding some kind of work here. A striking coincidence with Krupskaya's earlier intention to stay and work in the Urals. Did Yiu Armand have an idea to "escape" from Lenin for a while? Didn't she suspect that Ilyich's sympathies had again swung in the direction of Nadezhda Konstantinovna?

It so happened that there are more memories of the last days of Inessa Armand than about

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throughout her previous life. Here is what was remembered, for example, by the Bolshevik G.N. Kotov, who knew Inessa from Paris and met her again in the Kislovodsk sanatorium: Inez finally came to the Caucasus in order to rest and get better for further work. In the Caucasus, I met her not at work, but because of the same misfortune that she did, i.e. due to illness ("real Bolsheviks" were supposed to rest only because of "misfortune" - illness! - B.S. .). As old acquaintances and well-disposed comrades to each other, we tried to settle down in one of the so-called sanatoriums in Kislovodsk, closer to each other.

Knowing Comrade Inessa as a sociable comrade and as cheerful at every moment when meeting with comrades, this time I saw something was wrong, something was not right. Of course, the change became clear to me very soon. Remaining the same, she was simply exhausted from fatigue, from overwork. She needed to be alone in silence, and she did. She went to the mountains and climbed alone. Many times I tried to involve her in a game of croquet and invited her to sit in the company that was there, but in: I received the answer: "Later, we'll still have time, but for now I'll go to rest in the sun." If it were not for her youngest son Andryusha ... who was my cheerful companion, and if it were not necessary to dine on the bell, etc., then it seems that she would not have returned to the noise of people.

It was like that for two weeks. It was some kind of loneliness binge. Then tov. Inessa gradually began to come to her senses. Along with the purely physical correction, she began to move away spiritually as well. It was very noticeable that things were on the mend. And she herself said that she felt improvement, she was also gaining weight.

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All this time in Kislovodsk, the political conditions were rather unpleasant for rest. In addition to all sorts of White Guard actions relatively far from Kislovodsk, there were frequent threats to Kislovodsk itself. In this regard, there were frequent night alarms.

Nervous, twitchy people who did not know how to control themselves, as well as cowards and self-seekers, both non-party and party, could not be treated and

breathe; they were either just wasting their time or running away. Comrade Inessa was not one of those. All these warning worries did little to hurt her. She either did not react to them at all, or reacted very little, without spoiling her mood. In this case, Comrade Inessa was only herself, she was that communist who was hardened in battles, with restraint, with willpower and, most importantly, not a coward and not a selfish person. At a time when real battles were being fought around Kislovodsk, when the sound of artillery was heard all day long, when Kislovodsk could be cut off by the White Guards, at that time panic began: many fled for nothing. And this time Comrade Inessa was one of the few.

Neither panic nor a simple loss of balance seized her. She did everything. in order to send forward the weakly ill (obviously, they mean those patients who were the weakest, and not those whose disease was most mildly expressed. - B.S.), family, etc.: More than that, when commander comrade Davydov and a member of the regional committee, comrade Nazarov, arrived in Kislovodsk when they declared that in the first place `t. Inessa and some other comrades would be taken away and transported to another place, then she immediately announced that she would not go until the others were sent. The appearance in Kislovodsk of comrades Davydov and Nazarov was just at the time of the crisis in the fight against the White Guards. The dispatch of patients from Kislovodsk began even before their arrival...

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T. Nazarov arrived in Kislovodsk to carry out an order from the center and from the region. He said: if Comrade Inessa does not go voluntarily, then he will resort to the help of comrades of the Red Army soldiers in order to fulfill the order for her movement.

After a day from the arrival of Comrade. Nazarov's position became clear. The White Guards were beaten, they were driven, they fled to the mountains. Despite the favorable outcome of the battle at the moment, it was decided to liquidate Kislovodsk as a resort for this season. The evacuation of patients gradually had to continue. In view of this turn of affairs, Comrade Inessa had to decide whether she should go from Kislovodsk to Moscow or somewhere else to continue her vacation. If comrade Inessa felt healthy and rested, then she would go to Moscow without hesitation. Most of all, she did not want to leave Kislovodsk anywhere to continue treatment. Here are her words: "Now there is no danger. Andryusha and I are recovering so well here, we still have about a month to rest, and therefore there is no point in changing the place, wasting time, effort, etc. on this. That was her



solution. But Comrade Nazarov could not agree to this. Take into account the order from the Center, as well as the personal desire, comrade. Nazarov was ready to do everything in order to better arrange comrade. Inessa and others. He knew Com. Inessa was very well and from the very best side, and therefore he no longer treated him as an official, but as the best comrade to the best comrade.

So Comrade Inessa, although against her will, nevertheless left Kislovodsk. It had already been decided in advance that those taken away from Kislovodsk would be sent to Nalchik ... Having set off with the train of Commander Comrade. Davydov, on the way we had to engage in a small skirmish with bandits somewhere in front of Vladikavkaz. But now we have arrived in Vladikav

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kavkaz. In order to better arrange everything and go to Nalchik not to an empty place, we had to stay in Vladikavkaz for about two days. I don't know how to explain it, but I must say that, starting from Kislovodsk, we definitely had no luck. Making our way from our adventure to Vladikavkaz, we stood there for two days; and having gone to Nalchik, we again got stuck at one of the most polluting stations, at the Beslan station, and also stood for about two days. On the road. I had to eat whatever. But then we got to Nalchik. Arriving around lunchtime, the first thing Comrade Inessa went to inspect was a room where she could stay. On this day, the matter ended with the fact that we had to spend the night in the car. T. Inessa on the same day went to a meeting of the Nalchik Executive Committee in order to get acquainted at least a little with her comrades and with the affairs of the region (maybe, to implement plans to stay to work in the Caucasus? - B.S.). When Comrade Inessa returned, she did not complain about anything, and the next morning she was already suffering from convulsions of cholera. T. Ruzhenikov, who came with us as a doctor, examined Comrade Inessa and, without saying much, took measures to send her to the hospital as soon as possible ... Despite all the urgent and sufficient measures taken by the medical side, Comrade Inessa there was no way to save. The fears for her life from the moment of her illness were extremely great, since her heart and health in general were in very poor condition. Our fears were justified. T. Inessa could not overcome the evil bacillus of Asiatic cholera. Quietly, without noise, in the terrible agony of death comrade. Inessa froze forever.

Within 8 days the body of Comrade. Inessa stood in the measure of Tvetskaya and did not emit almost any stench. Like it wasn't a corpse. Comrade was so exhausted. Inessa.

Her body was sent to Moscow. We, at

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those traveling with her to Nalchik, as well as the comrades and citizens of Nalchik, came to see our dear comrade off and say a final goodbye to her. The coffin in his arms was carried almost to the very station. At the station, I, comrade. Ruzheinikov, Rogov, Sobolev and others made speeches, noting how comrade. Inessa has been all her life. So we have lost one of the best fighters for communism.” |

Kotov is trying to draw a portrait of such an unbending wrestler. Changes for the worse, which became noticeable in Inessa, the memoirist explains exclusively by overwork. And she claims that by the end of her stay in Kislovodsk she had almost recovered, put on weight and, along with physical recovery, gradually began to gain peace of mind. But we know what storms were raging at that moment in Inessa's soul, how hard and lonely she really was ... And from the last letter to her daughter it is clear that Inessa herself was not too pleased with the rest. She was ready to continue her treatment in the Caucasus for the sake of her son. Tom definitely liked it in the Caucasus. Inessa was thinking about staying here for a while, collecting her thoughts away from her Moscow acquaintances, from Ilyich, thinking about how to live on, not knowing that there would be no “further” for her.

Kotov refutes his own assertion that Inessa managed to gain weight in Kislovodsk. After all, he convinces readers that the corpse of Inesa practically did not decompose in eight days - she was so thin. True, this whole story is strikingly reminiscent of the lives of the saints - up to the acquisition of incorruptible relics. Inessa, in fact, looked very little like a saint. She was too down to earth.

Lenin constantly remembered Inessa. On September 2, he telegraphed Ordzhonikidze about Armand and his son:  
“Please ... more details about

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in the course of the fight against banditry and about the establishment by you in Kislovodsk of those Soviet workers, about whom I spoke to you personally here. Knowing Lenin's special attention to Inessa, Sergo insisted on almost forcible evacuation of her and her son from Kislovodsk, although the immediate danger of capture

the city has already passed the whites. And this evacuation turned out to be fatal for Inessa.

PS Vinogradskaya described her meeting with Armand on the eve of her departure from Kislovodsk: "Last evening I happened to hear Inessa play the piano. We asked her for a very long time. She stubbornly disagreed. Finally, she sat down at the piano and began to play Chopin, Liszt and other classics for us. Wonderful sounds poured out, and we all sat spellbound ... Inessa, at first somewhat embarrassed, later became interested in the game herself and played for us until late at night. I only then saw what a musical person she was and what a huge technique she possessed. None of us, even those who knew her closely during these years, knew that she plays so beautifully. Neither she nor the others had time for music over the years ... "The last time she sat down at the piano, Inesa recalled how she once played Ilyich, and these bright memories made her soul feel better.

Her acquaintance from the pre-revolutionary struggle, Lyudmila Stal, who then worked in the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) wrote about Armand's stay in Kislovodsk: Inessa. But only after the intensified requests of her friends, she decides to leave Moscow. She leaves for the North Caucasus. But mainly not for himself, but for the treatment of his sick son Andryusha. There I saw her for the last time. Inessa arrived so tired and broken, so emaciated ... She was tired of people, tired of talking

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ry. She tried to retire and remained in her dark room for whole evenings, since there was not even a lamp there. Gradually, good food in the sanatorium, mountain air and the life-giving sun of the south do their job, and before my departure I see Comrade. Inessa against the blue sky, in the mountains, resurrected again to life and struggle.

And at this moment, a terrible death takes her from our midst. She died of an accidental illness. But this accidental illness struck her because the conditions of the civil war do not give tired fighters the opportunity for a peaceful rest. The counter-revolution, which then made a hearth for itself in White Guard Georgia (in reality, this country, where the Mensheviks were in power, was rather hostile to the Russian White movement. - B.S.), stretched out its tentacles throughout the Caucasus, arranging here and there there are uprisings. Volleys of guns reached peaceful Kislovodsk, where Inessa lived at that time. Even

patients from the sanatorium were called up for night duty. Everyone was mobilized. They feared the possibility of a raid by the White Guards to capture and punish responsible officials.

Then tov. Inessa and other comrades were asked to leave Kislovodsk immediately. Inessa stubbornly refused, declaring: "If there is a danger, then let them first take away all the women and children, and I will leave last." But a member of the Tersk Regional Committee of the Russian Communist Party replied that in case of refusal to go voluntarily with comrades in a specially designated carriage, military force would be used. And against his will Comrade. Inessa left Kislovodsk.

In order to get to Nalchik, she had to pass through Vladikavkaz and that part of the Vladi Caucasian railway, where there was the largest concentration of refugees from Georgia. These were revolutionary peasants fleeing to Soviet Russia from the charms of the Menshevik "democrats".

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ratic" terror (in fact, here we are talking about participants in an unsuccessful uprising organized by the Georgian communists with Soviet support. - B.S.). Cholera raged among them. And tov. Inessa did not have to finish her treatment in picturesque Nalchik. She fell ill in the carriage, early at dawn. But due to her natural delicacy, she did not dare to wake up her comrades in order to receive timely help: A few days later, Inessa died. The weakened heart could not stand the fight. Inessa realized that she was dying. Her last words were: "Comrade. Gunmen, I feel like I'm dying. Leave me: you have a family, you can get infected. Thus Comrade Inessa passed away with thought and concern for others..."

I suspect that it was Lyudmila Nikolaevna who agitated Inessa Fedorovna to stay in the Caucasus to work. Her memoirs are pure myth. Everything is as if by magic: excellent weather, excellent mountain air, invigorating southern sun, curing Armand of the ailment caused by overwork. Before us again is a female fighter, ready for new battles for the triumph of communism. In fact, as we know, Inessa, until her very last days, was tormented by insoluble contradictions between love and revolution, personal and social life. Yes, and it was rainy for a year in Kislovodsk, and for some reason Inessa did not like the local sun. She preferred the Crimean - but Wrangel was still in the Crimea. :

Highly noteworthy is Steel's evidence of that for. When Armand was evacuated, Ordzhonikidze's people threatened to use "military force". It was probably only a threat, perhaps more poetic than practical. It would be hard to imagine a picture: the head of a department of the Central Committee, enjoying the patronage of Lenin himself, red

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the army men are pushing into the car with rifle butts. But the threat is typical for Sergo. The ardent Caucasian man was ready to carry out Lenin's order to take care of the safety of the two women by any means, including very indelicate means.

A much more human and thus closer to reality portrait of Inessa is drawn by Vinogradskaya: "As a person, she adhered to the motto that nothing human is alien even to the most extreme revolutionary. Along with major revolutionary work, Inessa was able to combine a large and vibrant personal life (maybe the memoirist knew about the relationship between Armand and Lenin? - B.S.). But she built it in such a way that the personal was always subordinate to the public, the temporal and accidental to the main, essential. Only people who knew Inessa little could consider her an ascetic or a very dry person ...

Inessa adored her children so much that she sometimes lost her sense of impartiality towards them ... With a smile, I still remember how during my disputes with her youngest son, Andrey, that arose when playing croquet (in the Caucasus during the holidays ) "due to a malicious violation of croquet rules," Inessa always took the side of her son, even if all the surrounding witnesses certify him wrong.

Vinogradskaya also spoke about the last days of Inessa (they broke up two days before her illness): "She arrived in the Caucasus so tired, exhausted and nervous that it was hard for her to see people. She avoided meetings, she was irritated by conversation, laughter; she tried more and more to go far into the mountains. As now, I remember her tall, slender figure in a black cape, white hat, with a book in her hands, slowly climbing into the mountains, everything

Higher and higher.

Unfortunately, the situation in the Caucasus was yes

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It's not so easy to be alone and relax there. I'm not talking about the fact that sanatoriums were then completely unorganized. Inessa, for example, having a ticket in her hands, could not get a room in a sanatorium, since there were no places. When her comrades found a room on the side, it turned out that there was nothing to sleep on. The local authorities, which the Lenin family, worried about the state of Inessa, asked to take care of her, asked Inessa what she needed. But Inessa, always modest and undemanding, did not dare to ask for more than ... a pillow.

There were bands of whites in the mountains around Kislovodsk. Often at night the district committee sounded an alarm and with a siren informed sick communists of the need to report to the district committee. There they were supplied with rifles, divided into detachments and sent to kick the enemy out. Naturally, such an atmosphere did not contribute to treatment and rest.

After reading these memoirs, I was left with the feeling that Vinogradskaya knew much more about Inesa's connection with Ilyich than she could say. And this secret knowledge of hers was forced to cover up with fiction. We have already made sure that it was not the "Lenin family", but only Vladimir Ilyich himself, who was busy about getting Inessa on vacation, telegraphed Ordzhonikidze, gave her a mandate with his own signature. This mandate alone would have been enough to make the local authorities bleed, but would have arranged for Inessa in the best room in any sanatorium. But in the collection of memoirs about Armand, published under the editorship of Krupskaya, it was not very convenient to write that Lenin personally took care of Inessa. This could give rise to unnecessary rumors and suspicions. Therefore, Vinogradskaya preferred. a more vague reference to the "Lenin family", from which one could understand that Nadezhda Konstantinovna was engaged in the arrangement of Inessa. And I totally came up with

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already a fantastic story about a pillow, which Inessa, it turns out, asked to be sent to her (from Moscow, or what?). The myth of an exceptionally modest and selfless Bolshevik was created, which fit very well into the image of the newfound martyr of the communist idea.

Dr. I. S. Ruzhenikov, who unsuccessfully tried to save Inessa from cholera, also left memories: "The last days of her life and illness (Comrade Inessa died in my arms) I was with her all the time. And I still have fresh memories of these sad days, why I willingly fulfill the order of the Zhenotdel of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and I want to say

a few very short, truthful words about this rare charm "comrade, who died so absurdly, absurdly, untimely ... Comrade. Inessa came to Kislovodsk with her son Andryusha... Comrade. Inessa at that time was physically exhausted and extremely nervously upset. The general situation of that time in Kislovodsk for recreation was extremely unfavorable. In addition, the landing of the white partisan Colonel Nazarov created a very difficult situation in this area. Everything was mobilized in case it was necessary to repel a bandit attack from the ranks of Nazarov. Communists and reliable non-Party people, who had come for rest and treatment, were put under arms and kept guard at night. Soon, by order from the center, a group of responsible workers was sent to Vladikavkaz for treatment and rest. Tov. Inessa was very reluctant to leave Kislovodsk and, only yielding to the insistence of her comrades who had come for us, agreed to go to Vladikavkaz. Our car was hitched to a military train bound for Vladikavkaz.

On the way, rifle, machine-gun and even cannon fire was once opened on bandit detachments seen in the distance. Tov. Inessa showed

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rare calm, and if she was worried, it was only for others - for Andryusha ... and for pregnant female comrades - comrade. Ruzhenikov and Rogov. In Vladikavkaz we were unable to settle down due to the lack of suitable conditions for rest and treatment. We lived in a carriage at the station. Both in the city and at the station, everything, including Comrade. Inessa, bought and ate quite a lot of all sorts of fruits. The station was then extremely dirty, but no cases of cholera were observed at that time. There were 3-4 suspicious cases in June-July.

The next day, upon arrival in Vladikavkaz, Comrade Ordzhonikidze and others offered us a car to take a ride to see the surroundings and the Military

But the Georgian road. There were not enough seats for all the comrades in the car, and comrade. Inessa, seeing this, looked for various excuses not to go, wanting to give this pleasure to other comrades, and only under pressure from other comrades did she agree - she went. All our way Comrade. Inessa, with her rare delicacy, gentleness and sensitivity, took care of the conveniences of others, forgetting about herself.

Two days later it turned out that it was better for us to go to Nalchik for a holiday. We were handed over to the pope

the opinion of Comrade Kalmykov, then chairman of the executive committee of the Kabardian region. On the way to Nalchik, we got stuck at the Beslan station for: 1½, days. Beslan station at that time was terribly polluted, with full latrines, and there was no buffet: probably, and contracted cholera comrade. Inessa.

Tov. Inessa was very worried that it was difficult to get milk and eggs for Comrade, who had weakened along the way. Kotov (he had tuberculosis in the 2nd stage). She walked along the platform for a long time, looking for

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at the station at the passers-by, went to the village and, if she managed to get something, a beaming one would come and immediately begin to cook something in order to feed, as she put it, comrade. Koto wa. She was childishly pleased, although she hid it when the impromptu "dish" was a success. She did all this without being noticed.

Upon arrival in Nalchik Comrade. Inessa felt fine the first day. We walked around the city and went to inspect the dacha, where we intended to settle for recreation, and in the evening we were at a party meeting of the local organization. In the evening, at 9-10 o'clock, they returned to their carriage to the station on foot, sharing their impressions of the organization of party work in the city of Nalchik and talking about the state of affairs on the Wrangel front (what are the Bolsheviks! but they exchange opinions on whether the work of the Party is well organized in the resort areas. —B.S.). Here is Comrade. Inessa raised the issue of Fr. Vladimir Ilyich's pamphlet, The Childhood Disease of "Leftism" in Communism, which was published at that time (as I have already noted, the incident with the robbery at Krasnokholmsky Bridge was described there. - B.S.), spoke for a long time and enthusiastically.

That very night she fell ill. Due to her delicacy, she did not tell anyone about this at night, not wanting to disturb her sleeping comrades. In the morning at Comrade Inessa developed convulsions, diarrhea and vomiting. During convulsions, comrades Ruzheinikov and Rogova began to grow her legs, but comrade. Inessa protested and said: "What are you, what are you, how can you. After all, you are both pregnant - this tension can damage your pregnancy. All persuasion was useless. Comrade Inessa, even at that time, thought and cared more about others than about herself.

Comrades Ruzheinikov and Rogova remained behind



I took care of her, and I went to the local hospital,

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to find out the question of the possibility of placing Comrade in it. Inessa. At about 10-11 am I took her to the local hospital. Tov. Inessa was greatly weakened, she could hardly stand on her feet. Examination in the hospital established all the symptoms of cholera. Tov. Inessa was placed in a separate ward, a special caring medical staff was appointed, a doctor was specially assigned, and a special treatment for cholera was prescribed. Andryusha and I stayed with her in the ward. | The disease progressed rapidly. By evening, the state of Comrade. Inessa deteriorated greatly. Began to torment su roads. The doctor, the nurse, Andryusha and I alternately rubbed and warmed Comrade's hands and feet. Inessa. By nightfall, seizing the moment when Andryusha came out, Comrade. Inessa began to ask me to send, persuaded Andryusha to leave for the car, as Inessa was afraid that Andryusha might be infected, which I did. At night, the pulse was barely palpable. They were afraid of a collapse of the heart. It was decided to resort to intravenous infusion of physiological saline solution. After 20-30 minutes the state of comrade. Inessa improved dramatically: her face turned pink, vomiting and convulsions stopped, her voice cleared, comrade. Inessa calmed down, her mood lifted, and concern for others returned again. "I have given you all anxiety. So much trouble instead of rest. And we, party members, do not know how to fall ill in time and appropriately. Well, nothing, I'll get better a little - I'll catch my breath - I'll return to Moscow. How tired are you all probably messing with me? How you don't want to be ill in this hot time, because there is so much work ahead!" She began to persuade me to leave to rest, then fell asleep. The next morning, when Andryusha came, Comrade. Inessa was talking to him through the window, not wanting him to enter the ward. Asked for food ... At noon she again became worse, again all the symptoms sharply intensified. It was decided to repeat the infusion of saline. Tov. Inessa

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calmed down again. She asked him to call Andryusha, talked to him a little, asked him not to worry, then insisted that he go to sleep calmly, as she felt. feel better again. And she began to insist that I leave, rest, sleep. To calm her down, I went into the next room. Tov. Inessa asked not to send disturbing telegrams to Moscow.

By evening, Inessa's condition worsened sharply again.

sewed. Every effort was made this time to raise the activity of the heart, but to no avail. At midnight Com. Inessa fell into an unconscious state. Without leaving the patient's bed, we spent the whole night trying to help comrade with all the medical means known to us. Inessa to overcome the disease. But everything was to no avail.

A severely emaciated organism, a tired, weak heart, despite all the measures taken, could not cope with the disease. The next morning our dear comrade was gone. Inessa. A few days later, a galvanized coffin was delivered from Vladikavkaz. Together with local organizations, we arranged Comrade. Ines se at the station revolutionary farewell and sent expensive remains to Moscow.

All memoirists paint a very similar image of a modest charming woman who is at the same time an unshakable fighter of the party. And everyone confirms that Inessa left Kislovodsk and went on a fateful trip to Vladikavkaz and Nalchik not of her own free will, but under strict party discipline. She became a victim of administrative zeal carried to the point of absurdity. Truly, make a fool pray to God, he will break his forehead. Local leaders, having received orders from Lenin and Ordzhonikidze, went out of their way to ensure comfort and safety for Armand and his son. And they decided to evacuate them from Kislovodsk, which was at risk of being on the front line. But for now

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the decision came to fruition, the Whites were driven off, and the immediate danger was over. But no one changed the decision. Moreover, the same Nazarov (a member of the Terek Regional Committee; not to be confused with his namesake - a white partisan! - RB.S.) did not have the intelligence to figure out that a railway trip through the North Caucasus, engulfed by a civil war, was no less, if not more dangerous than staying in a sanatorium next to the White Guards and the Greens who had taken refuge in the mountains. Because of the devastation, the ride was "revolutionary": we ride for a day - we stand for two. And the most terrible danger was not even an attack on the train by criminal gangs or anti-Soviet detachments. No, most of all it was necessary to fear epidemics - typhus, Spanish flu, cholera. Infection with any of these diseases, given the unhygienic conditions and the great crowding of people in trains and stations, was not a difficult matter, as the case of Armand confirmed.

Lenin was truly shocked when he received a terrible telegram: "Out of all queues. Moscow. Central Committee of the RCP, Council of People's Commissars, Lenin. III-

Inessa Armand, our choleric comrade, could not be saved. After all, shortly before that, it was reported that the patient's condition had improved and there was hope for recovery. A few days ago, Sergo telegraphed: "Inessa is all right." And suddenly such a terrible message! Ilyich blamed himself first of all for the death of his beloved. He himself insisted on Inessa's trip to the North Caucasus, he himself insisted on evacuation to the ill-fated Nalchik. And, probably, only on this tragic day on September 24, 1920, Lenin fully understood who Inessa was for him.

We have already familiarized ourselves with the description of Lenin at Armand's funeral, given by Alexandra Collon tai. But what the secretary of the Comintern remembered

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Lyan socialist Anzhelika Balabanova (later she became a close friend of Benito Mussolini): "I looked askance at Lenin. He looked desperate, his cap pulled down over his eyes. Small in stature, he seemed to wrinkle and become even smaller. He looked pathetic and despondent. I had never seen him like this before. It was more than the loss of a "good Bolshevik" or a good friend. There was an impression that he had lost something very dear and very close to him and made no attempt to disguise it... His eyes seemed to disappear into painfully suppressed tears. Whenever the movement of the crowd pressed against our group, he did not offer any resistance to the pushes, as if he was grateful that he could come close to the coffin.

And another witness, the writer Eli Zaveta Drabkina, former secretary of the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Yakov Sverdlov, the second person among the Bolsheviks after Lenin. In the book "Winter Pass", she described how the coffin with the body of Armand was brought to Moscow: "On the evening of October 10, the patrol group, which included me, went on duty. The night was autumnal damp and dark. We were very chilled and looked forward to the morning. It was almost dawn when, having reached the Post Office, we saw a funeral procession advancing towards us. Thin black horses, harnessed in a train, with difficulty dragged a black hearse, on which stood a very large and therefore especially long lead box, shining with a dull luster.

Standing by the roadside, we let these bony horses barely moving their legs, this hearse covered with peeling black paint, and

they saw Vladimir Ilyich walking behind him, and next to him was Nadezhda Konstantinovna, who supported him by the arm. There was something inexpressible

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mournful in his slumped shoulders and bowed head. We realized that in this terrible lead box there was a coffin with the body of Inessa.

She was buried the next day in Red Square. Among the wreaths laid on her grave was a wreath of living white hyacinths with an inscription on the mourning ribbon: "Comrade Inessa Armand from V. I. Lenin."

The Englishwoman Claire Sheridan, a sculptor, sculpted a bust of Lenin just in those October days. Here's what she remembered: "During all this time

, (a session that lasted from eleven in the morning to four in the evening. - R.B.S.) Lenin did not eat, drink or smoke a single cigarette ... My attempts to strike up a conversation with Lenin did not meet with approval, and, realizing that my I already pester him with my presence, I did not dare to insist. Sitting on the windowsill and relaxing, I kept telling myself that this was really happening, that I really was in Lenin's office and was fulfilling my mission... I kept repeating to myself: "Lenin! Lenin! — as if she could not believe that everything around me was not a dream.

Here he is sitting here in front of me, a calm, silent, small man with a huge forehead. Lenin, the genius of the greatest revolution in the history of mankind, if he would only want to talk to me. But... he hated the bourgeoisie, and she was its representative. He hated Winston Churchill, and I was his niece ... He allowed me to work in his office, and I had to do what I came for, and not waste his time; he had nothing to talk about with me. When I mustered up my courage and asked what news was coming from England, he handed me several issues of the Daily Herald.

Lenin, probably, really acted on women (however, on men too) somehow magnetically. Churchill's niece looks at the leader

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the Bolshevik revolution almost like a living god, a genius of all times and peoples. But today, at the end of the century, perhaps Churchill will seem more

greater than Lenin. Uncle Claire Sheridan was able to lead the British people in the bloodiest war in the history of mankind, inspired them to fight at the most difficult moment and became one of the architects of the Anglo-American alliance - the basis of those geopolitical relations between the countries of the West, which has basically survived to our days. Moreover, the British Prime Minister and Nobel Laureate did not stain himself with extrajudicial executions and executions of hostages. The brainchild of Lenin collapsed less than three quarters of a century after the October Revolution, costing the peoples of the former Russian Empire millions of victims, but never gave birth to anything viable. I think readers have no doubt which of the two politicians is greater on the scales of time.

A couple of times, Ilyich nevertheless condescended to a conversation with Claire: "He looked at his sculpted face rubbing ... and smiled condescendingly at me. This is how you smile at a child building a house of cards. Then Lenin asked: "How does your husband feel about your trip to Russia? .." "My husband was killed in the war," I answered. "Which war?" "In France". "Oh, yes, of course," he nodded in understanding. "I keep forgetting that you only had one war. After all, in addition to the imperialist one, we also had a civil war, and we also fought, defending the country from interventionists."

Lenin spoke of the fruitless spirit of self-sacrifice that the British were obsessed with when they entered the war of 1914, and advised them to read Barbusse's *Fire or Clarity*.

Vladimir Ilyich did not even try to hide from Claire that, in essence, he was indifferent to the death of her husband. No words of sympathy. Only a remark about the futility of self-sacrifice in the "imperialist

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war", which can be considered offensive to the memory of the deceased. But the enthusiastic fan does not notice any of this.

At the next meeting, Lenin got acquainted with photographs of Claire's works and acted as their harsh critic: "Although he said that he knew nothing about art, he very definitely characterized the "bourgeois art", which, as he said, always strives for beauty. He has a negative attitude towards beauty as an abstract ideal. He declared that he considered the beauty with which I endowed my Victory unjustified: "Militarism and war are ugly and can only arouse hatred, and even self-sacrifice and heroism cannot give them beauty. The vice of the bourgeois

The great thing about art is that it always embellishes." Then Lenin looked at a photograph of the sculpture "Dick's Head" (Claire's son. - B.S.), and an expression of tenderness flashed across his face. I asked: "Is this embellished too?" He shook his head and smiled."

Ilyich, fortunately for him, did not live to see the flowering of the art of socialist realism. Then, probably, I would not dare to accuse "bourgeois art" of embellishing reality. So "abstract beauty" is denied, as is abstract humanism. A monument to the victors in an "imperialist", unjust, in his opinion, war cannot, should not be beautiful. As in his conversations with Elizaveta K., Lenin clearly connected aesthetics with politics. Only the baby's head made him smile tenderly. Ilyich loved children, although he made many of them orphans. And he was very sorry that he had no children of his own. Or maybe he remembered at that moment about Inessa, her children, thought that they could have had children with her ... Perhaps that is why at that moment Lenin looked somehow upset and sick. Claire Sheridan writes: "His face expressed more

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deep thought than authority. He seemed to me a living embodiment of the thinker... He looked very sick... The bullet fired by the hand of the woman who attempted to kill Lenin was still in his body. Once I saw him with his arm in a sling. He said it was "nothing", although his complexion had a yellowish tinge, like ivory. He did not walk at all and was content only with the small amount of fresh air that entered his office through a small fan at the top of the window.

"No, it was not Kaplan's bullets that caused Lenin to feel unwell, but the death of the woman he loved. And the arm in a sling—isn't this the first signal of the approach of a fatal illness, the first bell that rang immediately after Armand's death?

Lenin lost not a close friend, not a comrade-in-arms in the struggle. He lost his beloved. And, probably, Kollontai was right in something: the death of Inessa hastened the death of Ilyich. If then Armand had overcome the Asiatic cholera bacillus, another, mysterious disease would not have overtaken Lenin so early. After the death of his beloved, he had little vitality left.

The death of his beloved was superimposed on the collapse of the Red Army's campaign against Warsaw, which ended in the complete defeat of Tukhachevsky's troops. But literally in those days when Ilyich sent Inessa to the Caucasus,

he hurried the Soviet troops marching on the Polish capital, hoping to quickly put an end to Pilsudsky. So, on August 12, he telegraphed the deputy head of the military department Trotsky Sklyansky: "Shouldn't Smilga (a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front, commanded by Tukhachevsky. - B. S.) be instructed that it is necessary to take into the army without exception (after the harvest of bread) in all grown men? Necessary. Since Budyonny is to the south, it is necessary to strengthen the north. Lenin vaguely felt the danger that the Western and Southwestern Fronts were advancing in divergent

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boards, and was ready to overwhelm the Poles with the corpses of the peasants taken directly from the plow. If only Tukhachevsky still took Warsaw and opened the road to Berlin! Vladimir Ilyich said with pride back in January 1920, speaking before the communist faction of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions: "We defeated Denikin and Kolchak by the fact that discipline was higher than all the capitalist countries of the world ... We killed tens of thousands of the best communists for ten thousand White Guards officers and this saved the country. By discipline, Lenin understood, first of all, the readiness of communists and non-Party people to go to their death without a murmur for the triumph of the revolution. If he donated tens of thousands of the best communists without any hesitation, then tens of thousands. It is a sacred thing to put "unconscious" peasants on the altar of victory.

And only a month later, Ilyich, perhaps, realized that it was discipline that ruined Inessa. Armand was used to obeying Lenin in everything. At first I obeyed his recommendations and went to Kislo Vodsk. Then from Kislovodsk to Nalchik she really did not want to leave. But she submitted to party discipline. And here is the result. A dear, close person, not abstract Ivans and Petras, died here ...

Here is what the dry official report says about the funeral of Inessa Armand: "On the night of October 11, a coffin with the body of the deceased comrade arrived in Moscow from the South. Inessa. To meet the coffin at the Kazan railway station, delegations from the Central and Moscow departments of working women and district committees of Moscow gathered, there were also relatives and friends of the deceased, among them comrade. Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya. From the station, the funeral procession went to the House of the Unions, and there, in the Small Hall, decorated with flowers and mourning cloth, a coffin was set up, which was buried in flowers and numerous wreaths with inscriptions, among which the inscriptions stood out: "To the old fighter for

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the proletarian revolution and an unforgettable friend from: the Central Committee of the RCP ("the old fighter" was only 46 years old! - B. S.); "To the staunch fighter for the liberation of the worker, comrade Inessa Armand from the MK RCP"; "To the Faithful Friend of Women Workers and the Fighter for Their Emancipation" from the Department of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party for Work Among Women; wreaths from the districts of Moscow, etc.

All day and all night on October 11, a guard of honor was at the coffin from representatives of the Central and Moscow departments of workers and from the districts. At 12 noon on October 12, representatives of all districts of the city of Moscow, the Moscow Soviet, the Central Committee of the RCP, etc., gradually arrive at the House of Unions. (namely, representatives - not people who knew Inessa and came to pay her last debt, but sent according to the party order, to create the required mass character of the event! - B.S.) The orchestra of red cadets plays mourning melodies, and the guard of honor The cadets are carried out by the coffin, which is placed on the hearse, and the funeral procession slowly heads along Theater Square and Revolution Square, along the Kremlin Wall, to Red Square. At the fresh grave of comrade. Inessa gathered representatives of the workers and workers of the prostrate of Moscow to give their last greetings to the deceased.

Then there were the usual speeches in such cases, where the merits of Inessa were extolled and grief was expressed over the ridiculous, untimely death. They asserted that she was known and remembered not only in Russia, but also in Turkestan; and in India (where Inessa has never been). And here is the finale: "The orchestra plays a funeral march, a group of workers and workers at the coffin quietly sings: "You fell a victim. The last Internationale sounds, but the comrades do not disperse for a long time, and they do not want to believe that Comrade, dear to all of us, has left our ranks forever. Inessa. Peace be upon you, dear comrade! The memory of you will live in our hearts, your image of a staunch fighter will

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us to serve as a covenant in all our long and stubborn struggle, we will bring the work you started to the end. All. It's over. The last point has been put in the life of Inessa Armand. And in the afterlife, she, as a true atheist, did not believe. b

If Inessa had survived, and who knows, Lenin would never have left Krupskaya, would not have made Inessa the official first lady of Soviet Russia? Yes, and he would probably have lived longer. Then Armand, and not Krupskaya, would become the widow of the founder of the Soviet state, her name is called



if schools, palaces of pioneers, maternity hospitals had been destroyed, she would, apparently, have been given the honorary but insignificant post of deputy people's commissar of education, she, and not Krupskaya, would have been put at the head of the All-Union Pioneer Organization. But everything that we know about Inessa Armand makes me assume: she would not have put up with Stalin's dictatorship, with the destruction of her party comrades, she would have fought to the end and. I would lay down my head in the fight. The children would share the fate of their mother or, at best, get off with the Gulag. But the subjunctive mood in history

Riya, as you know, does not happen.

An unknown poet, hiding under the pseudonym "Bard", in those days published in Pravda the poem "In Memory of Comrade Inessa":

You met death at the post of combat. Sleep in peace, our dear friend,

And we - we will only close our ranks around the unforgettable grave.

Let the red banner cover your ashes, Fearless fighter. consolations

We will seek not in fruitless tears, But in a new call - "to vengeance." Our time will come - we will change the gun For a hammer, but in the heart of the people

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Forever your name will remain

The emblem of the struggle for freedom.

Who gave her soul to the calls of dreams

About the fraternal fusion of peoples,

By the will of fate, you did not see the radiance of the coming sun.

In the midst of the struggle, there is still no triumph, We have not broken the enemy's strength,

Through the twilight of the fog, only your pale dawn illuminates the grave.

But your memory will harden our hearts,

In battle, you didn't fall in vain!

We see, we feel the end is near

The last strongholds of capital.

May the enemies perish, may the veil of future  
happiness fall soon!

Friendly, comrades, in step - forward! Sleep in  
peace, Comrade Inessa...

These poems are remarkable not for their poetic merit (poetry, to tell the truth, did not spend the night in them). Here, first of all, attention is drawn to the complete inconsistency with the real circumstances of Armand's death. Inessa did not die at a military post, she died on vacation, at a resort. It was not an enemy bullet that killed Lenin's mistress, but a bacillus of Asian cholera, which Inessa, apparently, picked up from one of the Georgian communist rebels who fled to Vladikavkaz, one might say, "brothers in the class." Was it not them that the unknown Bard called for revenge? However, taking revenge on the abstract "exploiters", "class enemies", "counter-revolutionaries" and "White Guards" in Soviet Russia, at the suggestion of the same Lenin, was no stranger. I don't know, maybe Ilyich considered the extrajudicial execution of thousands of soldiers and officers of the Wrangel army in the Crimea, who naively believed the promise of the commander of the Southern Front, as revenge for Inessa

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that Mikhail Frunze amnesty? Or the execution in Petrograd of participants in the alleged "Tagantsev conspiracy" (among the dead was the famous poet Nikolai Gumilyov)? Or the death of thousands and thousands more victims of the "Red Terror"? But not only Inessa's contemporaries, but also their distant descendants never saw the "end of the last strongholds of capital".

To perpetuate the memory of Inessa Armand, the Central Council of Workers under the Central Committee of the RCP(b) and the Department of Workers under the Moscow Committee of the Party decided to publish a collection of memoirs about her and her own articles, to name courses for the training of instructors of women's departments and several nurseries after Inessa Armand. A collection of memoirs edited by Krupskaya was published in 1926. A collection of works by Inessa herself had to wait until 1975. Whether courses and nurseries were named after Armand, I don't know for sure. Probably they were. But it is unlikely that the new names lasted long.

After Lenin's death, a mini-cult of the main woman of the Soviet country, the leader's widow, gradually took shape. Even during her lifetime, libraries and schools, kindergartens and maternity hospitals were named in her honor. The latter, in fact, was a uniform mockery

in relation to the childless Nadezhda Konstantinovna. But hardly any of the officials thought about this. Probably, the nursery named after Inessa Fedorovna Armand eventually turned into a nursery named after Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya. Leni, well, there was nothing to do with such a perpetuation of the memory of Inessa. In some significant way, life has lost its meaning for him. But Lenin managed to take care of the grave and children of Inessa. On April 24, 1921, he wrote a note to the head of the Moscow City Council, Kamenev: "The children of Inessa Armand turn to me with a request, which I zealously support:

1) Can you arrange to plant flowers on the grave of Inessa Armand?

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2) The same - about a small tile or stone?

If you can, please drop me a line through whom (through which institutions or establishments) you did this so that the children can additionally apply there, check, give inscriptions, etc.

If you can't, drop it too, please: maybe you can order privately? or maybe I should write somewhere, and do you know where? I

Reading this note is a little funny. The leader of a great power, the ruler of one-sixth of the land, condescends to such trifles as flowers and a tomb, and even consults in this regard with the capital's mayor. Just like that, Lenin could not order a monument and a flower garden, even if he really wanted to. It was necessary to find an institution dealing with this, and draw up the appropriate paper. And the creator of the system was no exception. To a real apotheosis of bureaucracy!

Ilyich did not forget Inessa's children either. For example, || July 1921 gave a letter of recommendation to the Soviet ambassador in Persia, F. A. Rotshtein: "I recommend you. bearer Alexander Alexandrovich Armand and his sister Varvara Alexandrovna. I know these young people and I care deeply about them. I would be extremely obliged to you if you would pay attention to them and help them in every possible way. Lenin's shadow protected the Armand family. None of Inessa's children, as well as her husband Alexander Evgenievich, despite the factory owner's past, was ever repressed. All of them received decent positions and did not live in poverty. In a country that had gone through several waves of bloody purges, this was no small achievement. So Ilyich managed to thank the woman he loved, albeit posthumously.

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA:  
SURVIVAL

when Lenin fell ill, caring for the

a powerful husband became for Nadezhda Konstantinovna the meaning of life. In the last months of Ilyich's life, in one of her letters she admitted: "I live only because in the mornings V. is glad to see me, takes my hand, and sometimes we talk without words about various things that still have no name." This person close to Krupskaya was the daughter of Inessa Fyodorovna Armand, also Inessa.

The first signs of the disease appeared in the summer of 1921. Ilyich began to get very tired, insomnia developed, headaches and dizziness began to torment him. In July, Lenin wistfully wrote to Gorky: "I'm so tired that I can't do anything." Medicines did not help him. At first, the doctors thought it was just overwork. The many hours of daily meetings for which it was necessary to prepare, the writing of hundreds and thousands of notes and telegrams, indeed, took a lot of effort. At that time, there was not yet a large army of referents and speechwriters who made life easier for professional politicians. Yes, they did. then, for every reason and without any reason: the central government tried to control almost everything that happened in the vast country. For example, on February 23, 1921, Lenin participated in as many as 40 meetings - a record worthy of entering into the Guinness Book! Thought it was a colossus

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naya load led to nervous exhaustion. One has only to reduce the number of meetings, sit and write less, walk more, especially in the fresh air, and even have a good rest in nature for a month or two, and everything will return to normal. Discharged from Germany, medical luminaries professors O. Ferster and G. Klemperer stated: "There are no signs of an organic disease of the central nervous system."

However, resting with Krupskaya in Gorki near Moscow did little to help Lenin. At the end of 1921, the pain and dizziness resumed. Nadezhda Konstantinovna noticed with alarm that her husband could not sleep all night. On New Year's Eve 1922, the Politburo forcibly sent Lenin on leave for six weeks, forbidding him to come from Gorki to Moscow. A situation has developed in the country when the leader at a catastrophic pace was losing the ability to

to work and, consequently, to influence the political course. This happened in Russia again at the end of the 20th century, in the second half of the 90s, when President Yeltsin, tormented by various ailments (or one, but carefully concealed), in Gorki, Barvikha and other country residences, as well as in the Kremlin hospital began to spend more time than in the Kremlin.

Lenin's illness was a bolt from the blue not only for the population, but also for the top political leadership of the country. Leon Trotsky recalled that the leader's ill health was perceived as a threat to the cause of the revolution: "Lenin was very careful about the health of his employees and often recalled the words of some emigrant: the old will die out, and the young will surrender. "How many of us know what Europe is, what is the world labor movement? As long as we are alone with our revolution," Lenin repeated, "the international experience of our party elite (i.e., long-term stay in exile. — BR.S.)

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irreplaceable." Lenin himself was considered a strong man, and his health seemed to be one of the indestructible foundations of the revolution. He was invariably active, vigilant, even, cheerful. Only occasionally did I notice disturbing symptoms. During the period of the first congress of the Comintern, he struck me with his tired look, uneven voice, and the smile of a patient. I have told him more than once that he spends too much of himself on secondary matters. He agreed, but could not do otherwise. Sometimes he complained —always casually, a little shyly—of headaches. But two or three weeks of rest restored him. It seemed that Lenin would not be out of his nose.

Lenin understood that he was very seriously ill. He anxiously asked the doctors: "After all, this, of course, does not threaten madness?" And once, after another fainting spell, he remarked: "So someday I will have a kondrashka (the popular name for a stroke is a hemorrhage in the brain. - B.S.). Many years ago, a peasant (Isn't it in Shushenskoye? - B. S.) told me: "And you, Ilyich, will die from kondrashka," and when I asked why he thinks so, he replied: "Yes, the neck yours is too short." This time, the formidable "kondraty" did not have to wait long. R

In April 1922, one of the two bullets left in his body after being shot by Fanny Kaplan was removed from Lenin. It was a gesture of desperation. In this way, they naively hoped to slow down the development of a mysterious disease. But in vain.

As early as May 4, 1922, Lenin managed to get the Politburo to decide on the seizure of church valuables to help the starving. Believers and church hierarchs protested against this decision. They doubted, not without reason, that the proceeds from the sale of church relics would reach the starving, and would not be used for the needs of, for example, the Red Army or

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world revolution. And the sale of treasures abroad for nothing did not save the situation. But it was important for Lenin and his comrades to suppress the church, deprive it of the opportunity to compete with the Marxist ideology in the minds and hearts of people, and at the same time materially support the power of the Bolsheviks. Ilyich wrote to the members of the Politburo in this way: "We must by all means confiscate church valuables in the most decisive and fastest way, in order to secure a fund of several hundred million gold rubles (we must recall the gigantic wealth of some monasteries and laurel). Without this fund, no state work in general, no economic development in particular, and no defense of one's position in Genoa in particular, is completely unthinkable. We must take over a fund of several hundred million gold rubles (and perhaps even several billion) at all costs. And it is possible to do it with success only now. All considerations point to the fact that later we will not be able to do this, because no other moment, except for a desperate famine, will give us such a mood among the broad peasant masses ... "

Here, it turns out, how simple everything is. It is not at all necessary to rob churches in order to save the starving people of the Volga region. There is a much more important task: to provide the Soviet government with a gold reserve so that it can talk more confidently with the "imperialists" at the Genoa Conference! And - to try to raise the peasants against the church. The leaders of the Bolsheviks hoped that the hungry would more easily believe the propagandistic assertions that the scoundrel churchmen did not want to share their treasures with the perishing crops. Although the church has repeatedly offered to organize assistance to the starving itself, the authorities did not need this. It was better to seize everything, to the last, by force. instill fear, and

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more will get. And they started looting. They ripped off precious salaries from the icons, confiscated sacred

courts, other church utensils. Resisting parishioners were arrested (and in total there were almost one and a half thousand clashes between believers and the police and Chekists).

Whether the blow that befell Lenin was God's punishment or not, we will never know. True, if we accept the version with God, the question arises: why did the "Red Terror" initiated by Ilyich not cause immediate punishment from heaven? Maybe God's patience came to an end when the leader of the Bolsheviks so thoroughly hooked the church? |

And on May 17, Lenin managed to send the People's Commissar of Justice D.I. Kursky additions to the new criminal code, where he proposed to "expand the use of execution by shooting" and demanded "openly expose a principled and politically truthful (and not just legally narrow) provision, motivating the essence and justification for terror. Ilyich especially emphasized: "The court should not eliminate terror; to promise this would be self-deception or deceit, but to substantiate and legitimize it in principle, clearly, without falsehood. without embellishment. It is necessary to formulate as broadly as possible, because only a revolutionary sense of justice and a revolutionary conscience will set the conditions for applying in practice, more or less broad.

And Lenin gives an example of such a formulation, which later became the basis of the infamous Article 58, which punished "counterrevolutionary activity": "Propaganda, or agitation, or participation in an organization, or assistance to organizations acting (propaganda and agitation) in the help from that part of the international bourgeoisie which does not recognize the equality of the communist system of property that is coming to replace capitalism and strives for its violent overthrow, whether by intervention or

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blockade, or espionage, or press funding, etc. means, is punishable by capital punishment, with replacement, in case of extenuating circumstances, by imprisonment or expulsion abroad.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn in The Gulag Archipelago wittily remarked that even Blessed Augustine could be freely summed up under such an article. True, Vladimir Ilyich, it seems, did not imagine that in the near future Stalin would apply "revolutionary legal consciousness" with great success to party leaders close to Lenin - Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and many others.

On May 23, 1922, Lenin and his wife left for Gorki. Tried to work, nothing worked. Looked unimportant. On May 25, after dinner, Ilyich had heartburn, and before going to bed he felt weakness in his right arm. In the morning I was vomiting and had a headache. Lenin could hardly speak, lost the ability to read ("letters floated"), could not write (only the letter "m" was obtained). Weakness was felt in the right arm and leg. But after about an hour, all the symptoms disappeared. Doctors decided that this was a consequence of gastritis, prescribed a laxative and rest. However, on the evening of May 27, everything happened again, now with a complete loss of speech. Now Professor Kramer stated thrombosis (blockage) of cerebral vessels. Later, paralysis of the right limbs recurred many times, but quickly disappeared. -

Lenin's condition either worsened or improved again. joking around. Memory, speech and writing abilities returned periodically. But Lenin no longer believed in recovery. But he did not want to give up politics, to leave power for private life. A few days after the attack, Lenin wrote to Stalin: "Vol. Stalin! Doctors, apparently, create a legend that cannot be left without refutation. They were taken aback by a violent fit on Friday and made a deep

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post: they tried to ban "political" meetings (they themselves did not understand well what this meant). I got extremely angry and sent them off. On Thursday Kamenev visited me. Lively political conversation. Great sleep, great feeling. Friday paralysis. I demand you urgently, in order to have time to say, in case of an exacerbation of the disease. Only fools can blame here on political conversations. If I ever worry, it is because of the lack of timely and competent conversations. I hope you will understand this, and send the fool of the German professor and Co. away. Be sure to come to tell us about the plenum of the Central Committee or send someone from the participants of the Committee of the Commissariat ... "

Vladimir Ilyich already guessed that the cause of the illness was not overwork from meetings and conversations, but was connected with some kind of disease of the vessels of the brain. This threatened complete paralysis and dementia. Lenin did not want to live like this. And it was not at all that he needed a story about the plenum from Stalin. On May 30, 1922, Iosif Vissarionovich responded to Lenin's request and visited the patient. Ilyich asked for poison: "Now the moment I told you about earlier has come, I have paralysis, and I need your help. Stalin promised, but assured Leni, that it was too early to think about poison, since all chances for recovery remained. Here's what's being said-



Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova spoke about this episode: "In the winter of 20/21, 21/22, V.I. felt unwell. Headaches, loss of working capacity greatly disturbed him. I don't know exactly when, but somehow during this period V. I. said that he would probably end up with paralysis and took Stalin's word that in this case he would help him get and give him potassium cyanide. Stalin promised.

Why did V.I. turn to Stalin with this request? Because he knew him for a man of hard, steel, alien to any sentimentality.

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Soon, Lenin's condition improved, and thoughts of suicide left him for a while. On June 11, he woke up like a different person. Lenin said this about his condition: "I immediately felt that a new force had entered me. I feel very well ... A strange illness, what could it be? I would like to read about it."

And Ilyich began to read medical books, which he took from his brother Dmitry, a doctor. But it was wasted labor. The mysterious disease was not diagnosed by the luminaries of science then, nor decades later. Hereditary syphilis was suspected, and they tried to treat it. The postmortem autopsy did not seem to confirm this diagnosis, but did not refute it either. True, the pathoanatomical study of the aortic arch, the most important for diagnosing this disease, was not carried out (it is affected in the first place in hereditary syphilis). And some of Lenin's relatives at one time died from an illness with approximately the same symptoms that were found in Vladimir Ilyich. Lenin's father died of cerebral vascular sclerosis, also at the age of 53. This disease overtook her mother already at the respectable, 70-year-old age, so her sclerosis could be a consequence of the aging of the body. It is quite possible that Lenin's illness really had a hereditary character.

And they did not deliberately investigate the aortic arch. People's Commissar of Health N. A. Semashko specifically asked the pathologist who performed the autopsy, Professor A. I. Abrikosov, to pay special attention to the proof that Lenin did not have syphilis in order to preserve the bright face of the leader. So Alexei Ivanovich did not go into the arch of the aorta - out of harm's way. They did not do a blood test for the Wasserman reaction. True, the analysis of the cerebrospinal fluid was performed repeatedly, and here the Wasserman reaction was negative. Nevertheless,

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the diagnosis of hereditary syphilis remained unconfirmed, but not refuted either.

Other possible diagnoses are multiple sclerosis and Alzheimer's disease, now better known as mad cow disease, which has led to the decimation of cattle in the UK. Which of the diagnoses is true is now impossible to determine.

Lenin continued to experience short-term spasms, which led to partial paralysis of the right limbs. He conveyed his feelings during the attacks in this way: "It looks like the letter "5" in the body and in the head too. At the same time, my head is spinning a little, but I did not lose consciousness ... If I had not been sitting at that time, then, of course, I would have fallen. Lenin, under the guidance of Krupskaya, again learned to write, to solve the simplest arithmetic problems, to memorize short words and phrases.

Ilyich's illness made a stunning impression on the party ranks. Trotsky's wife, Natalya Sedova, wrote in her diary: "The first rumors about Lenin's illness were passed on in whispers. No one seems to have ever thought that Lenin might get sick. Many people knew that Lenin was vigilantly watching the health of others, but he himself did not seem to be susceptible to illness. Almost the entire older generation of revolutionaries was heartbroken, neck tired from too much workload. "Motors give overloads in almost everyone," the doctors complained. "There are only two serviceable hearts," said Professor Getye to Lev Davydovich, "this is Vladimir Ilyich's and yours. With such hearts, live up to a hundred years. A study by foreign doctors confirmed that two of the hearts they listened to in Moscow work extremely well: these are the hearts of Lenin and Trotsky. When Lenin's health took a sudden turn for a wide circle, it was perceived as a shift in the revolution itself. Is Lenin really

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can you get sick like everyone else and die? It was unbearable that Lenin lost the ability to move and speak. And I firmly believed that he would overcome everything, rise and get better ... "

By an evil irony of fate, both Bolshevik leaders with unusually well-working hearts did not live far to be a hundred years old. Lenin at the age of 53 was killed by a mysterious illness, Trotsky at 60 by an ice ax blow inflicted by the hand of a Stalinist agent. But

the masses could not foresee how the life of the leaders would end. Lenin has long since become a positive cultural hero of myth, and no ailment should take such a hero. But for Nadezhda Konstantinovna Ilyich was not a myth, but a living person. She knew much more than anyone else about how severe the illness that struck her husband was, but, like everyone else, she harbored hopes for recovery. Especially since things seem to be on the mend.

On October 2, 1922, Lenin returned to Moscow, and the next day he presided over a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars. But on October 6, at the Plenum of the Central Committee, he felt unwell, and in the following days he canceled several public speeches he had planned earlier. He confessed to the old party member Iosif Stanislavovich Unshlikht: "Physically I feel well, but the former freshness of thought is no longer there. In the language of a professional, he lost his ability to work for quite a long time.

Nevertheless, on October 31, Vladimir Ilyich was able to speak at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and still during November to conduct meetings of the Council of People's Commissars. On November 20, Lenin made his last public speech at a meeting of the Moscow Soviet. He ended this speech with a remarkable passage about icons: "Socialism is no longer a matter of a distant future, or some abstract picture, or any icon. As for the icons, we remained of the opinion of the old, very bad. We dragged socialism into everyday

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life and here we must sort it out. This is the task of our day, this is the task of our epoch. Allow me to conclude by expressing confidence that no matter how difficult this task is, no matter how new it is in comparison with our previous task, and no matter how many difficulties it causes us, we are all together, not tomorrow, but in a few years, we will all solve this problem together at all costs, so that out of NEP Russia there will be socialist Russia." As if he foresaw that after death he himself would be turned into an icon.

Ilyich did not live to see the transformation of Russia from NEP to socialist. And he did not learn about the millions of victims of forced collectivization, nor about the terror of the 30s, nor about the tens of millions who died in the Great Patriotic War. Although, presumably, he foresaw all this to one degree or another, considered it necessary and inevitable. Otherwise, he would not have demanded that Kursky expand the use of execution by firing squad in the new code, he would not have formulated the famous Article 58 according to the principle: "If I want, I will imprison (or shoot)." And about the fact that in the war with

it is not a sin for the imperialists to lay down for the sake of victory for one enemy even several of the best communists (not to mention the non-party ones), as we remember, Lenin quite frankly declared back in January 1920!

On November 25, 1922, a council of doctors decided that Lenin needed absolute peace and rest. However, Ilyich tried to solve a number of current affairs and left for Gorki only on the evening of December 7th. On December 13, two severe attacks followed, with a complete loss of speech. The doctors noted in the medical history: "With great difficulty we managed to persuade Vladimir Ilyich not to speak at any meetings and for a while to completely abandon work. Vladimir Ilyich finally agreed to this and said that he would begin liquidating his

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affairs". On December 16, Lenin dictated to Krupskaya a letter transferring all duties to his deputies. Two days later, the patient's condition became even worse. On December 18, the Central Committee makes General Secretary Stalin responsible for observing the isolation regime prescribed by the doctors for Lenin.

December 22-23 - a new strong attack. And on the 23rd, Lenin begins to dictate to Secretary M. A. Volodicheva the secret "Letter to the Congress" (the KhP Congress of the RCP was to open on January 11, 1923), where he recommends that Stalin be removed from the post of General Secretary. The next day, the doctors reported to Stalin, Kamenev and Bukharin about the leader's condition and that he had begun to dictate. The "troika" of Politburo members made the following decision: "1. Vladimir Ilyich is given the right to dictate daily for 5-10 minutes, but this should not be in the nature of correspondence, and Vladimir Ilyich should not wait for an answer to these notes. Dates are prohibited. 2. Neither friends nor family should tell Vladimir Ilyich anything from political life, so as not to give material for reflection and excitement. Lenin finished dictating the Letter on January 4, 1923. Subsequently, it was often referred to as the "political testament" of the leader.

Lenin did not skimp on bright colors when characterizing his colleagues in the Politburo and the Central Committee: "Comrade. Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated immense power in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be able to use this power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, com. Trotsky, as his struggle against the Central Committee on the question of the NKPS has already proved, is distinguished not only by his outstanding abilities. Personally, he is perhaps the most capable person in the present Central Committee, but he is also excessively grasping

self-confidence and excessive enthusiasm for the purely administrative side of things. These two qualities of two outstanding leaders of the modern Central Committee

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capable of inadvertently leading to a split ... "The helpless leader was afraid of splitting most of all. After all, then his offspring - the October Revolution, and after it the world revolution would be under the threat of death (Ilyich thought so, but not Stalin).

Lenin described other members of the Central Committee even less respectfully. Zinoviev and Kamenev were reminded of the "October episode" by the NIL THEIR, when they not only voted against the armed uprising, but also reported this secret decision in the newspapers. What-what, but Grigory Evseevich and Lev Borisovich never differed in courage, and Lenin directly

hinted at it.

Bukharin's theoretical views, according to Lenin's definition, are scholastic and "can very doubtfully be classified as completely Marxist" (Vladimir Ilyich modestly considered only the views of Marx, Engels and his own to be such).

Yuri Leonidovich Pyatakov also got it, a man "of undoubtedly outstanding will and outstanding abilities, but too keen on administration and the administrative side of things to be relied upon in a serious political issue." Translated into common human language, this meant that Pyatakov, at that time deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy Dzerzhinsky (there was little sense from the "iron Felix" in the Supreme Council of the National Economy), was primarily concerned with the management of the national economy and the professional qualities of his employees, not their political integrity. This, according to Lenin, made Yuri Leonidovich himself not quite trustworthy.

In a word, all sisters on earrings. But in the final part of the letter, dictated on January 4, 1923, Kobe got the most of it: "Stalin is too rude, and this shortcoming, quite tolerable

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in the environment and in communication between us, the Communists, becomes intolerable in the position of General Secretary. Therefore, I suggest that the comrades think over the method of moving Stalin from this place and appoint him to

it is the place of another person who is different from Comrade in all other respects. Stalin only by one advantage, namely, more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less belligerent, etc. (...) From the point of view of protecting against a split and from the point of view of what I wrote. ... about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky, this is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle that can be of decisive importance.

Let's say something, but it was difficult to surprise Lenin with scolding. He himself, both orally and in writing, more than once scolded both his opponents and his party comrades-in-arms with the last words, so that sometimes in the collected works he had to put ellipses. Mikhail Voslensky very accurately described the final period of Lenin's activity as head of the Council of People's Commissars in the book *Nomenklatura*: slander to his subordinates. The comradely relations that united him with these people in recent emigration have sunk into the forgotten past. Subordinates fawn and revere. And the more they fade away and burn incense, the more firmly the boss becomes convinced that he is infallible, but surrounded by lazy idiots who need to be whipped and poke their noses into everything. The leader of the recent revolution already speaks of the revolutionaries with undisguised contempt..."

Therefore, in the letter to the congress, Lenin's logic is not entirely clear. Since rudeness in communication between communists is a completely tolerable thing, then what a misfortune

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if Stalin once again scolds one of the party members (God himself ordered to scold the imperialists, Mensheviks, and simply non-party people who were guilty of something). One might think, it is true, that Lenin considers it unacceptable if Stalin, who occupies a key post in the party, is rude to party comrades. And they are completely dependent on him and will not be able to answer the General Secretary in the same disrespectful manner. However, did not Ilyich himself allow himself in exile to scold Bolshevik comrades-in-arms who were dependent on him in financial or other respects? After all, none of the scolded comrades-in-arms ever answered the leader in adequate non-parliamentary terms. One gets the impression that Stalin's rudeness is only a pretext for Ilyich to remove Iosif Vissarionovich from the post of general secretary. The ailing chairman of the Council of People's Commissars seriously feared that the enormous power concentrated in his hands would be

Stalin may not give up the fate of all members of the party to anyone, including him, Lenin. Husband Krupskaya still hoped for a recovery.

Interestingly, both of the Bolshevik leaders singled out in the letter, along with Lenin himself, were the most ruthless of all members of the Politburo. When the highest party organ had to directly decide the question of the execution of individual arrested or taken hostages, Kamenev, Kalinin or Rykov sometimes showed mildness. But the troika Lenin-Stalin-Trotsky almost always sent the unfortunate to their deaths. Vladimir Ilyich felt that only one of these two, Stalin and Trotsky, could become his successor, but he thought that the choice of a successor was still a long way off.

Lenin insisted that all five copies of the letter be kept in an envelope sealed with sealing wax, which could be opened only by himself, and after his death, only by Krupskaya. However, Volodicheva did not make a corresponding note on the envelope. sec

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Retar of the Council of People's Commissars L. A. Fotieva (she and Volodichova were on duty in shifts at the bedside of the sick leader) read the letter and familiarized Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev with it. By that time they had formed a triumvirate against Trotsky in the Politburo, and the removal of Stalin from the post of general secretary did not suit all three. At the first congress without Lenin, the 13th, the discussion of Lenin's letter was organized not at a plenary session, but by delegations, the leaders of which had already been oriented by the general secretary in the right spirit. As a result, Stalin remained in his post, limiting himself to a promise to correct the shortcomings noted by Lenin. And these shortcomings were - lack of tolerance, loyalty, courtesy and attentiveness to party comrades, as well as capriciousness. Iosif Vissarionovich really turned out to be extremely attentive to all the members of the Politburo and the Central Committee mentioned in Lenin's letter: 'he destroyed them. No person - no problem, in this case - problems with Ilyich's will.

But this happened after the death of Lenin. In the meantime, the disease has gradually progressed. In February 1923, as Professor V.V. Kramer recalled, again "first minor, and then deeper, but always only fleeting disturbances in speech were noted ... It was difficult for Vladimir Ilyich to remember the word that he needed. ... He was not able to read what he dictated to his secretary ... He began to say something that could not be completely understood.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna was constantly next to her husband. On March 5, Ilyich dictated a letter to Trotsky with a request: "to take upon himself the defense of the Georgian cause at the Central Committee of the Party. This matter is now under the "persecution" of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Even quite

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against. If you agreed to take over his protection, then I could be calm.

It was about the desire of the leadership of the Georgian Communist Party, headed by Budu Mdivani, to achieve greater autonomy for their country within the artificially created Transcaucasian Federation and their own independence from the Transcaucasian regional committee of the RCP, which was headed by Ordzhonikidze. The commission of the Central Committee headed by Dzerzhinsky, which arrived to analyze the conflict, took the side of the regional committee, and in the heat of the discussion, Sergo hit one of the Georgian communists in the face. Lenin categorically condemned the behavior of Ordzhonikidze and Dzerzhinsky, who covered him up, seeing here a manifestation of "Great Russian chauvinism." Vladimir Ilyich insisted on reaching a compromise between the Transcaucasian Territory Kom and the Georgian communists, so that it would be possible to "really protect foreigners from the true Russian gibberish." In notes dictated on December 30, 1922, he accused Stalin, who supported Ordzhonikidze and Dzerzhinsky, of "administrative passion" and bitterness against "social nationalism" (this is how the opponents characterized the views of the Mdivani group). On learning that the Politburo had approved the conclusions of the Dzerzhinsky Commission, Lenin asked Trotsky to reverse this decision and protect the Georgian communists. By that time, a powerful anti-Trotskyist bloc of Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev had already formed in the Politburo, which Lenin probably did not know about. Trotsky's speech could hardly change the situation. Having learned that Lev Davidovich would not be able to participate in the "Georgian affair" due to illness, on March 6, 1923, Lenin dictated the last note in his life. It was classified as "strictly secret" and was addressed to Mdivani and his comrades. Copies were intended for Trotsky and Kamenev. Lenin

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reported: "I follow your case with all my heart. Outraged by the rudeness of Ordzhonikidze and the indulgence of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I'm preparing notes and a speech for you."



Vladimir Ilyich did not have time to write any speech. His intercession by Mdivani did not help. Budu and his comrades were safely shot in the 37th. Nor did their opponent Ordzhonikidze survive. Due to a conflict with Stalin, he shot himself in the same year, fearing imminent reprisals.

The Georgian conflict may have brought Lenin's death a little closer, and in a most unexpected way. On March 5, 1923, Ilyich dictated a letter to Trotsky in the presence of Krupskaya. Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not stand it and told her husband about her collision with the general secretary. Perhaps this act was provoked by the critical tone of the letter in relation to Stalin. For two and a half months she braced herself and said nothing about the unpleasant incident, so as not to excite the patient. Krupskaya's personal secretary, Vera Solomonovna Dridzo, in a letter to the Kommunist magazine written in 1989, according to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, described the spouses' explanation on that March day as follows: "Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Vladimir Ilyich were talking about something. The phone rang. Nadezhda Konstantinovna went to the telephone (the telephone in Lenin's apartment was always in the corridor). When she returned, Vladimir Ilyich asked: "Who called?" "This is Stalin, we made peace with him." - "So how?" And Nadezhda Konstantinovna had to tell everything that happened in December 1921.

The incident took place on December 21st. On that day, at the request of her husband, she dictated a letter to Trotsky, which supported his position on the monopoly of foreign trade. About the content: the letter became known to Stalin. The General Secretary suspected that the decision of the plenum of the Central Committee to support the position of Trotsky,

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Opposite to Stalin's, Ilyich was informed by Nadezhda Konstantinovna. The next day he gave Krupskaya a dressing down.

Here is how Maria Ilya Ulyanova describes these events: "Stalin called her to the phone and in a rather sharp form, apparently hoping that this would not reach V. I., began to tell her not to tell V. I. about business, otherwise, they say, he will pull her to the Central Control Commission. N.K. was extremely agitated by this conversation: she was completely unlike herself, sobbed, rolled on the floor, etc.

On December 23, 1922, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote a letter to Kamenev: "Lev Borisovich, regarding a short letter I wrote under the dictation of Vladimir Ilyich with the permission of the doctor

whose, Stalin allowed himself yesterday in relation to me the rudest trick. I'm in the party for more than one day. For all 30 years I have not heard from a single comrade a single rude word, interests. The party and Ilyich are no less dear to me than to Stalin. Now I need maximum self-control. What can and cannot be discussed with Ilyich, I know better than any doctor, because I know what worries him, what does not, and in any case better than Stalin. I appeal to you and Grigoriy (Zinoviev. - B.S.), as V.I.'s closest comrades, and ask you to protect me from gross interference in my personal life, unworthy abuse and threats. And in the end she said a few words about the Central Control Commission: "I have no doubts about the unanimous decision of the Control Commission, which Stalin allows himself to threaten, but I have neither the strength nor the time that I could waste on this stupid squabble. I am also alive, and my nerves are tense to the extreme.

Kamenev hushed up the matter, no organizational conclusions regarding Krupskaya, of course, followed, but the cautious Lev Borisovich did not scold Stalin for his trick either. Only remained in the heart of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, the severity of what happened

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neck. Although, according to the memoirs of Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova, a few days later Stalin called Krupskaya and "obviously tried to smooth out the unpleasant impression made on Nadezhda Konstantinovna by his reprimand and threats."

Lenin, having learned about this incident, was also very worried. He dictated an angry letter to Stalin: "Dear comrade Stalin. You were rude to call my wife to the phone and scold her. Although she agreed to forget what was said to you, nevertheless this fact became known through her to Zinoviev and Kamenev. I do not intend to forget so easily what was done against me, and it is useless to say that I consider what was done against my wife to be done against me. Therefore, I ask you to consider whether you agree to take back what was said and apologize or prefer to break off relations between us. Sincerely, Lenin.

The tone of the letter is striking. Ilyich does not defend the honor of an offended wife, he does not intercede for an offended woman. No, he is primarily concerned about his own honor, about maintaining his own authority. He emphasizes that by insulting his wife, Stalin insulted him himself. It turns out that Nadezhda Konstantinovna for Lenin is some kind of symbol, an obligatory attribute of the head of the party and government, but by no means a close, beloved person. Ilyich, it seems, was hurt most of all not by

that Stalin dared to scold a woman, but that he had already ceased to reckon with him, with Lenin. This means that he feels that the disease is fatal, and the days of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars are numbered.

Lenin became ill. An entry in the journal of secretaries on duty dated March 5, 1923, testifies: "Vladimir Ilyich called about 12. He asked me to write down two letters: one to Trotsky, the other to Stalin; give the first personally by telephone to Trotsky and tell him the answer as soon as possible. The second one is about

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put off the strength by saying that today something is not working out well for him. I felt unwell."

The next day, according to Volodicheva's entry, Lenin read the letter addressed to Stalin and "asked me to hand it over personally and receive an answer from hand to hand. Dictated a letter to the Mdivani group. Felt bad. Nadezhda Konstantinov did not ask Stalin not to send this letter, which was done during the 6th (i.e., translating from clerical to generally understandable: on that day the letter to Stalin was never delivered. - B.S.). But on the 7th I said that I must carry out the order of Vladimir Ilyich. She had a talk with Kamenev, and I personally handed over the letter to Stalin and Kamenev, and then to Zinoviev when he returned from St. Petersburg. Stalin's answer was received immediately after he received Vladimir Ilyich's letter (the letter was delivered by me personally to Stalin, and his reply to Vladimir Ilyich was dictated to me). The letter to Vladimir Ilyich has not yet been delivered, as he fell ill.

Here is the text of Stalin's letter, which Lenin may never have received: "To Lenin from Stalin. Only personally. T. Lenin! About five weeks ago, I had a conversation with Comrade N. Konstantinovna, whom I consider not only your wife, but also my old party comrade, and told her on the phone approximately the following: "The doctors forbade giving political information to Ilyich, considering such a regime the most important means to cure him, meanwhile, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, it turns out, you are violating this regime, you cannot play with Ilyich's life, "etc. I did not pursue any other goals, except for the goal of your speedy recovery. Moreover, I considered it my duty to see that the regime was carried out.

My explanations with N. Konstantinovna confirmed that there was nothing but empty misunderstandings here and could not be.

However, if you think that in order to preserve "relationships" I must "take back" the words said above, I can take them back, refusing, however, to understand what is the matter here, where is my fault and what, in fact, from me want. I. Stalin.

Iosif Vissarionovich subtly felt both the meaning of Lenin's letter and the leader's growing anxiety about his position in the party. And I realized that Lenin would not recover and would not regain his former power. Therefore, in the letter he speaks with him absolutely on an equal footing, recognizing neither the superiority of Ilyich, nor Lenin's right to criticize him, Stalin, in anything. The General Secretary makes it clear: "You, Ilyich, are not worried about Nadezhda Konstantinovna, who is already largely indifferent to you. You are worried about your own position. Calm down: I only care about your health. But do not console yourself with the illusion that you will be reckoned with as before, eagerly catching your every word as a guide to action. I'll probably apologize so as not to upset you, but I don't feel guilty anyway. "

Meanwhile, on March 6, Lenin, possibly as a result of the unrest he had endured, had a two-hour seizure with complete loss of speech and paralysis of the right side of the body. The next day, Ilyich makes it clear that he is better. But on March 10, the attack recurred and now, according to Professor Cramer's note, led to "persistent changes both in speech and in the right limbs."

It is possible that the content of Stalin's letter, albeit in the most general form, Lenin nevertheless learned through his sister. Maria Ilyinichna recalled: "One morning Stalin called me into the office of V. I. He had a very upset and distressed look: "I

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I haven't slept all night tonight," he told me. "Who does Ilyich think I am, how does he feel about me!" Like some kind of traitor. I love him with all my heart. Tell him that sometime." I felt sorry for Stalin. I thought he was genuinely upset. R

Ilyich called me for some reason, and I told him, among other things, that the comrades bowed to him. "A," V. I. objected. "And Stalin asked me to give you a go-

hello, he asked me to say that he loves you so much. Ilyich chuckled and said nothing. "Well," I asked, "to say hello to him and from you?" "Pass it on," Ilyich answered rather coldly. "But, Volodya," I continued, "he is still smart, Stalin." "He's not smart at all," Ilyich replied decisively and grimacing.

Undoubtedly, Stalin did not sleep the night of March 7th to 8th, having received Lenin's letter. Maybe he even came to the conclusion that he was too harsh in his reply letter. And now, with the help of Maria Ilyinichna, he was trying to influence Ilyich's mood, to defuse the tension that had arisen between them. It is possible, hoping (or even having instructed the secretaries accordingly) that Lenin did not get acquainted with the letter. And he, it seems, reluctantly decided that it was not worth completely breaking off relations with Stalin in the current helpless situation. Iosif Vissarionovich can still come in handy, at least to fulfill a long-standing request for poison.

In her memoirs about the last months of Lenin's life, published only in 1989, Krupskaya notes that the period from March to July 1923 was "associated with severe physical suffering and severe nervous excitement ...". On March 14, regular publication of bulletins on the leader's state of health began in the newspapers. Now neither read, nor write, nor talk normally,

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Ilyich could no longer adequately understand the speech addressed to him.

On March 21, 1923, Stalin wrote "strictly. secret" note for members of the Politburo outlining Lenin's request: "On Saturday, March 17, Comrade Ulyanova (N.K.) informed me, in an arch-secret manner, the request of VI. Ilyich to Stalin that I, Stalin, take upon myself the duty to get and hand over VI. Ilyich a portion of potassium cyanide. In a conversation with me, N.K. said, among other things, that "VI. Ilyich is going through incredible suffering", that "to continue to live like this is unthinkable", and stubbornly insisted "not to refuse Ilyich his request". In view of the special insistence of N.K. and in view of the fact that V. Ilyich demanded my consent (V.I. twice summoned N.K. during a conversation with me, he excitedly demanded "Stalin's consent"), I did not consider it possible to answer refusal, stating: "I ask V. Ilyich to calm down and believe that, when necessary, I will fulfill his demand without hesitation." V. Ilyich really calmed down ...

However, I must declare that I do not have enough strength to fulfill the request of V. Ilyich, and I am forced to refuse this mission, no matter how humane and necessary it may be, which I bring to the attention of the members of the P. Bureau of the Central Committee.

Members of the Politburo left their signatures on the note. And M.P. Tomsy - also a resolution approving the actions of the Secretary General: "I read. I believe that Stalin's "undecisiveness" is correct. It should have been in a strict composition of the members of Paul. Bureau to exchange views. Without secretaries (technical)".

And immediately after the conversation with Krupskaya, "in hot pursuit", Stalin sent Zinoviev and Kamenev, his colleagues in the "three umvirates", a shorter note: "Nadezhda Konstantinovna just called me and reported in secret that Ilyich was in a "terrible" state, with him seizures,

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"does not want to, cannot live longer and requires potassium cyanide, of course." She reported that she "tried to give potassium, but "there was not enough endurance", which is why she demanded "Stalin's support". Grigory Evseevich and Lev Borisovich categorically objected and left the following resolution: "This is impossible in any way. Foerster gives hope - how can you? Yes, if it wasn't! You can't, you can't, you can't."

One can imagine what it was like for Nadezhda Konstantinovna to convey this request. I will only note that Ilyich could ask her to talk to Stalin on such an intimate subject only if he decided to accept Stalin's apology and consider the incident between him and Krupskaya over. Lenin was sure that Stalin's hand would not waver. Krupskaya did not have the courage to help Ilyich end his suffering. The poor fellow retained the ability to think, despite the almost complete impossibility of conveying his thoughts to those around him and understanding what he himself was being told. It was extremely painful. Lenin. Often

he cried. .

Curiously, the alleged suicide is called "humane" and "necessary" by Stalin. The word "humanism", so rare for a Bolshevik, appears in his lexicon. However, so far Koba does not consider it possible to force the leader's departure "to the other world." The "triumvirs" still need Lenin, so that FSUs is completely isolated by covering up his name! Trotsky, it was necessary to extend the Agony of Ilyich from the real levers of power.

It turned out that in vain Lenin hoped for Stalin. Iosif Vissarionovich did not justify his pseudo-

denim, let down and doomed the leader to an almost infantile existence in the last months of his life. Here, of course, there was a certain political calculation, and not following the Christian commandment "Thou shalt not kill", which was completely alien to Stalin, as well as to Lenin himself.

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In the meantime, the entries in the "Diary of the doctor on duty", which replaced the "Diary of secretaries on duty", did not inspire optimism until mid-May. So, on March 11, it was noted: "Doctor Kozhevnikov went to see Vladimir Ilyich at 11 and a quarter o'clock. Complexion pale, sallow, facial expression. and his eyes are sad... All the time he makes attempts to say something, but soft, inarticulate sounds are heard... Today Vladimir Ilyich, especially in the evening, has begun to understand worse what is said to him, sometimes he answers "no when, by all accounts, the answer should be positive."

An equally bleak picture: and the next day, when urgent reinforcements arrived from Germany: "Prof. Minkowski and Foerster. From the station, Dr. Kozhevnikov went with them to a meeting of the Politburo, and from there to Vladimir Ilyich... From the side of the nervous system, consciousness is clear (apparently!), almost complete motor aphasia, today Vladimir Ilyich cannot say anything... Vladimir Ilyich does not understand what he is being asked to do. He was given a pen, glasses and a cutting knife. At the suggestion to give glasses, Vladimir Ilyich gave them, at the request for a pen, Vladimir Ilyich again gave glasses (they were closest to him) ... After visiting Vladimir Ilyich, all the doctors were again in the Politburo ... "

On March 17, when Lenin asked Krupskaya for potassium cyanide, the diary records: "After the medical visit, Vladimir Ilyich had a good dinner. After a while, he wanted to express some thought or some desire, but neither his sister, nor Maria Ilyinichna, nor Nadezhda Konstantinov could at all. understand Vladimir Ilyich, he began to get terribly worried, they gave him bromine. Maria Ilyinichna telephoned Dr. Kozhevnikov, he arrived ... "It was probably the thought of suicide that so excited Lenin. Ilyich has already

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was fascinated by the efforts of the doctors to bring him back to normal life. Doctors, especially foreign ones, irritated the patient more and more. He was oppressed by the thought that in vain he had to pay large

fees in foreign currency to German and Swedish professors. |

Doctors suspected Lenin of hereditary syphilis of the brain and prescribed the appropriate treatment: very painful procedures for rubbing mercury, but Lenin, according to Kozhevnikov, showed idiosyncrasy to mercury, that is, intolerance: This and other unpleasant procedures developed idiosyncrasy in Lenin and to German doctors. He confessed to the same Kozhevnikov: "For a Russian person, German doctors are unbearable."

But a miracle happened: in mid-May 1923, a noticeable improvement occurred in Lenin's condition. They began to put Ilyich on the Kremlin veranda: to breathe fresh air in the apartments, and on May 15, observing careful precautions, they were transported to Gorki, accompanied by a group of doctors. Kozhevnikov noted that Lenin "became stronger physically, began to show interest both in his condition and in everything around him, recovered from the so-called sensory phenomena of aphasia, began to learn to speak ...".

Together with the speech therapist S. M. Dobrogaev, Krupskaya tried to help her husband regain the gift of speech. Subsequently, she continued the training of Ilyich on her own. Lenin used very few words, and almost all of them were monosyllabic and two-syllable: "HERE", "lead", "GO", "GO", "olya-la". The expression "just about" became universal for him, conveying the whole gamut of feelings. After many days of studies with Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Vladimir Ilyich mastered several words that were more complex and especially beloved by him before: "congress", "people", "PEOPLE", "worker", "peasant" and the main word of his life

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"revolution". Krupskaya recalled her skills as a teacher and used the means and techniques that are used for teaching the oral and written speech of young children: the letters of the alphabet on cardboard squares, made her husband repeat the words several times in a row, led her husband's left hand with her hand, which he tried to learn to write. The words "mom" and "dad" written in this way have survived. However, Lenin almost never succeeded in remembering the spoken words and repeating, let alone writing them on his own. Although some progress was nevertheless observed: Vladimir Ilyich could move around the room with a stick, make some meaningful gestures, sometimes use his favorite "just about" to the point.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna was very worried about



disease of Ilyich. Almost the only outlet for her was the letters to the daughters of her former rival. On June 23, 1923, she wrote to Varya and Inessa Armand: "My dear girls, how are you? Are you well resting? I often think of you and miss you. I have long wanted to write to you, to caress you, but the pen falls out of my hands. It is very difficult for me to write, but I think about you all the time: you are the closest to me. First of all, I will write about V. Now there are days when I begin to think that recovery is possible, although it will not be soon. With walking, things are going best, the hand also began to gradually recover. A specialist in speech (S. M. Dobrogaev. - B. S.) assures that it is better with speech, in my opinion, this is not so. The general condition is good: good pulse, normal temperature, good appetite, sleep is also gradually getting better. Is sitting,. when the weather permits, for a long time on the terrace, sometimes we went to the garden. The mood is different, sometimes worse than bad, sometimes nothing. It all depends on who is on duty: which doctor, which nurse, which orderly. In general, he gets tired of the constant hustle and bustle. Doctors'

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more than necessary. Thank God that only Foerster remained among the Germans. Well, let's see what will come out of all this flour. Manya (M.I. Ulyanova. - B.S.) is completely worn out, coughing and nervous. I still try to work in the mornings, although I'm getting worse and worse, but, in general, I have become completely incapable of working. Longing is wild. Sometimes I roar like a beluga. Most of all I love it when Rozanov (a well-known surgeon — B.S.) is on duty. Recently, we talked a lot about Inessa with him, after all, they worked together in the Moscow Society for the Improvement of the Plight of Women. He told me something about this work... That's all. I changed my mind about many things during this time, I understood a lot that I did not understand before. Someday, dear Innochka, I will see your child, I would very much like to see him and you. Please take care of yourself: do not get tired, sleep more, eat on time, open the windows and sometimes think of me. This last one must also be useful for our little one... What do you think?"

In the next letter, sent at the beginning of July, Krupskaya again expressed concern about the health of Inna and her baby, punished: "You, my girl, eat more - this is necessary for the child. One does not have to dream of babysitting him, but how nice it would be. Think, I would get used to me, stretched out his little hands, smiled. So I wanted to have a baby someday. Well, the card has arrived. I have a very poor imagination, and I can't imagine you in an environment unfamiliar to me.

Write often. I am completely alone in the world now. V. cannot be entered for the last few days, he is terribly angry if anyone enters. The last two weeks in the mood there was a turn for the worse. In general, at some point it seems that nothing can be worse, and then it gets even worse. However, today I am in a very gloomy mood and only upset you in vain. Doctors say it's

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will pass. In recent days, V. has also caught malaria, which has greatly weakened him. And the weather is disgusting, as luck would have it.

This is how we live. I get up, if possible, than before, at 5 o'clock, and in the morning I do a little, and then I become incapable of anything. However, it does get easier. On the third day, for example, V. was taken out into the sun, and he kept smiling, and when he fell asleep, I went for berries, picked flowers from the field, and made acquaintance with the workers of the state farm.

Yes, Krupskaya's life during her husband's illness was very difficult. And it is no coincidence that she poured out her soul only to the daughters of Inessa Armand (still, such close relations did not work out with her sons). Nadezhda Konstantinovna so dreamed of having children, but God. he did not give them children with Ilyich. And daughters. Inessa Fyodorovna became for Krupskaya as if she were her own. After all, these were the children of the person closest to Ilyich, who died tragically early. In the perception of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, a Leninist reflection fell on them, as it were. And she also foresaw that Ilyich was unlikely to recover, and besides, he did not have long to live. And after the death of Lenin, the only close people will remain. Inna and Varya. Krupskaya treated Inna's son almost like her own grandson.

The July letter to Inessa's daughters was written at a time when Lenin had another exacerbation of his illness. Here is what Vladi Mir Petrovich Osipov, an outstanding psychiatrist, aka-, told about this. the demik who treated Lenin: "About June 22, a new and final exacerbation of the disease begins, which lasted about a month. At that time he was in a state of excitement, there were sometimes hallucinations, he suffered from insomnia, lost his appetite, it was difficult for him to lie quietly in bed, his head ached, and he calmed down only when they carried him around the room in an armchair ... second

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In mid-July, the aggravation subsided, his health began to improve again, and soon Vladimir Ilyich was able to go to the park near the house in which he lived; sleep was restored, his appetite improved, he gained weight, he felt cheerful, he was in a good mood, and, of course, the first thing he became interested in was speech exercises again.

His care was impeccable. All household concerns lay with his sister, Maria Il'inichna Ulyanova (Krupskaya's inability to manage the household was well known. — B.S.), and Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya took over all the spiritual care, so to speak... These two women sacrificed all their personal interests for him and surrounded him with all sorts of comforts... Before this aggravation, the speech exercises were carried out by the doctor, but here Vladimir Ilyich expressed with gestures a certain wish that Nadezhda Konstantinovna should conduct the speech exercises. He apparently did not want others to see this shortcoming of his speech, it was unpleasant for him. Nadezhda Konstantinovna is an experienced teacher, but for these classes you need to have special knowledge. Therefore, we met every evening and gave her some instructions, and in this way, under our guidance, she conducted these classes, which proceeded very successfully.

July 29, 1923 Chairman of the Central Committee Finance Committee. and the Council of People's Commissars, Evgeny Alekseevich Preobrazhensky wrote to his friend and co-author of The ABC of Communism, Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin, about two visits to Lenin—shortly after the June crisis and later, when things began to improve again: “During the first visit ... ril and with Nadezhda Konstantinovna, and with Maria Ilyinichnaya in great detail. The old man was then in a state of great irritation, continued to chase even Foerster and others, swallowing only obediently.

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quinine and iodine, was especially annoyed at the appearance of N.K., who was in despair from this and, in my opinion, completely in vain, against her will. And yet, she went to him.

The second time, 4 days ago, I went again ... I just went downstairs with Belenky (Lenin's head of security - B.S.), as in the room to the right of the entrance, Belenky showed me through the window with his hand, said: “Get out they're taking him.” I went to the closed window and looked out. At a distance of 25 paces, he suddenly noticed me, to our horror, began to press his hand to his chest and shout: “Here, here,” demanded me. I have just arrived and have not yet seen M.I. and N.K. They

they ran, M.I., excited, said: "Once for the mark, we must go." I went, not knowing exactly how to behave and who, in fact, I would see. Decided to keep a cheerful, joyful face all the time. Approached. He shook my hand firmly, I instinctively kissed him on the head. But the face! It cost me enormous efforts to keep my face and not cry like a child. There is so much suffering in it, but not so much suffering at the moment. On his face, as it were, all the suffering he had endured in recent times was photographed and frozen. M. I. blinked at me when I had to leave, and him. carried on. Five minutes later I was called to the table to drink tea with him. He treated me with gestures of raspberry it. and he himself drank from a glass as a bite, wielding his left hand. They talked about hunting and all sorts of trifles, which is not annoying. He understands what he listens to. But I did not understand everything that he wanted to express, and N.K.'s comments were not always correct, in my opinion. However, you can't convey everything. For the last week and a half he has had a very significant improvement in every respect except his speech. I spoke to Foerster. He thinks that this is not an accidental and short-lived improvement, but that the improvement can be lasting ... "

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It seemed that Lenin's affairs were slowly, but on the mend. In August, Ilyich again asked to read newspapers to him. Nurse T. M. Belyakova, who cared for Lenin in the Kremlin, and then in Gorki, recalled: "Vladimir Ilyich always greeted the appearance of Maria Ilyinichna with joy. In the evening I patiently waited for her return from the editorial office of Pravda. And if for some reason she was late, he asked me to call and find out when she would arrive. Maria Ilyinichna almost always returned from work with a fresh copy of Pravda, smelling of printing ink. She took a small stool and sat down at Vladimir Ilyich's headboard. First, she told him editorial news, and then read the most interesting notes and articles published in the newspaper. Lenin remained dissatisfied with certain materials and considered their publication on the pages of the central party organ to be erroneous. Asked Mary

Ilyinichnu to inform the editorial board of "Prav-

dy". On the contrary, he approved other articles, saying that they should have been placed in the newspaper in the most conspicuous place, accompanied. editorial comment...

According to the newspapers, Lenin closely followed the

the development of a large patriotic movement to raise funds for the construction of aircraft of the Red Air Fleet. He rejoiced: the working people of the Soviet Republic voluntarily made their donations, thereby strengthening the country's defense capability (and this in a country that had barely recovered from a severe famine, which at that moment no one was going to attack; one can imagine how much "voluntarily this campaign had a forced "character! When you think how many additional victims from hunger and disease it brought because people gave the last pennies to bomb carriers, and not to bread and milk for children, you really don't want to rejoice. - B. WITH.).

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And .

One day, it was August 30, 1923, as usual, mail was brought to Gorki. Nadezhda Konstantinovna selected fresh newspapers and, before taking them to Vladimir Ilyich, decided to look through Pravda. Unfolded. The entire first page was dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the attempt on Lenin's life.

“It will excite Ilyich,” Krupskaya said aloud. Pravda wrote: “August 30 is a bitter date, a terrible, unforgettable day, when the agents of the bourgeoisie, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, tried to take Ilyich away from the Soviet people ... The world proletariat carries in its heart the bullets that pierced the chest of Comrade. Lenin... He will return them to his enemies at the hour of the decisive battle for communism. He will send them into the heart of the bourgeoisie...”

Nadezhda Konstantinovna nevertheless decided to show the newspaper to Vladimir Ilyich. I went to him in a room. He. affably 'smiled and nodded his head: read, they say. Started reading. And I saw how Lenin felt sad at first, and when. Krupskaya read the words: “The revolution performed a miracle: it saved itself, saved the working class, retained the republic of labor for all humiliated mankind. This republic is alive and growing,” Vladimir Ilyich suddenly cheered up, his eyes shone with light.

The kindest Taisiya Mikhailovna, it seems, believed in the myth of the eternally living Lenin, who almost until the last days of his life kept his finger on the pulse of the country and even gave guiding instructions: what to Pravda to print and what not to print. So you can imagine how Ilyich either with a lowing, or with his signature “just about” expresses approval

or disapproval of this or that newspaper material, and Maria Ilyinichna and Nadezhda Konstantinovna tensely catch every sound and immediately write it down. Those around Lenin really wanted to believe in the miracle of his recovery. Involuntarily, the desired was passed off as real. Vladimir Ilyich at

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a quite meaningful reaction was written to the articles and notes read to him by his wife and sister. In fact, the situation here was the same as in the case of glasses, a pen, and a paper knife. After all, Lenin still could not write and meaningfully pronounce no more than a dozen words. Therefore, it is safe to judge whether the patient correctly understood what was read for him and whether he understood at all, it is impossible to reliably judge.

Much more realistic, although probably also not without idealization, describes the process of Ilya Cha's acquaintance with the newspapers, psychiatrist Academician Vladimir Petrovich Osipov, who observed Lenin during his illness; "Understanding the speech of others was restored completely and so well that he became interested in the content of newspapers; newspapers, editorials, telegrams and other information that interested him were read to him; then, being himself a newspaper worker, he understood the contents of the newspaper; opening the newspaper, he knew where the editorial was, where the telegram was, and immediately pointed with his finger what he was interested in. Sometimes there were exciting articles in the newspapers, the contents of which Nadezhda Konstantinovna avoided passing on to him. Having become interested in some place, he demanded repetition, and he could read something himself. He retained his understanding of numbers, and in connection with this, and by the drawing of the newspaper, he perfectly distinguished old newspapers from new ones. As for free speech, it was most affected; he was able to use only a few words, but he could repeat the words, which is why exercises were directed in this direction in order to restore independent speech by repeated repetition of words. At first things were tough. Vladimir Ilyich could repeat only one-syllable words, and then two-syllable and even polysyllabic ones began to succeed; first they wrote down the words that he could repeat, but

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then they stopped, because the number of recorded words exceeded one and a half thousand, and it became clear that if he could say one and a half thousand words, then he could repeat two, three thousand and more.

The ability to read, which had been lost along with speech during an exacerbation of the disease in March 1923, also began to gradually recover.

He could already distinguish letters and read words; for this he was shown drawings, and when looking at them he could name the objects depicted on them and even uttered phrases. Usually they showed a drawing with a signature, and then without a signature, and he called the object depicted in the drawing; he also independently found verbal designations corresponding to the depicted object among other written words. Exercises were begun in writing with the left hand, which, especially in this case, is a significant difficulty, but Vladimir Ilyich managed to overcome this obstacle, and he could write quite well with his left hand - he wrote letters and words and already copied words well.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna did all these exercises with her husband. And she showed pictures, and deduced letters, holding his hand with a pencil in her hand. I hoped that someday the former Ilyich, smart and active, would return.

On September 2, 1923, Krupskaya wrote to Inessa Armand: "My dear Innochka, I haven't written to you for ages, although I thought about you every day. But the fact is that now I spend whole days with V ..., who is recovering quickly, and in the evenings I fall into insanity and am no longer capable of writing letters. The correction is going well - he sleeps superbly all the time, his stomach too, his mood is even, now (with help) he walks a lot and independently, leaning on the railing, goes up and down the stairs. The hand is given baths and massages, and so is she.

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began to improve. With speech, too, progress is great - Foerster and other neuropathologists say that now speech will be restored for sure, what has been achieved in the last month is usually achieved in months. He is in a very good mood, and now he sees that he is recovering - I am already asking him to be his personal secretary and I am going to study shorthand. Every day I read him a newspaper, every day we take long walks and study ... "

Zinoviev was just as optimistic when he spoke at a party meeting on September 26, 1923: "About July 20, Vladimir Ilyich's state of health began to improve, which is still developing and becoming more noticeable every day ... Three days how he is already

He walks vigorously, and next to him is one of his comrades, just in case... He goes for walks in a car... Speech is in the worst condition, but even here there is an improvement... As for independent speech, now it is bad. .. When the improvement began, it was such that he could not pronounce one syllable from two letters. Now and here begins to improve

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The question was raised about Vladimir Ilyich moving somewhere to the south. We all suggested going south, but the doctors were against it, and most importantly, Vladimir Ilyich was against it. Osipov says, apparently, he is a conservative person in his personal life and is resolutely against any south ...

Newspapers are read to Vladimir Ilyich, at first with passes, now they are without passes. The table of contents of the newspaper is read to him, and he chooses what to read and what not to read... Concerning the events in the Ruhr (the occupation of the Ruhr by French troops. - B.S.), Nadezhda Konstantinovna brought him up to date and then read it to him. He did not express much surprise. Regarding the fact that in Ukraine surpluses are taken from rich men, he expressed

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great displeasure that this has not been done so far. He is perfectly aware of his condition and takes care of himself very much ... he conducts the treatment, takes care of himself ...

He drives doctors around him, and with difficulty they manage to listen to him (i.e., listen to his heart and lungs. - B.S.) ... At the end of June they gave extremely pessimistic reviews, leaving not a single percent of hope for good outcome. But from the middle of July things began to improve and did not remain

infused."

Of course, Grigory Evseevich, speaking to a fairly large, albeit Party audience, does not tell the whole truth. In fact, Ilyich's newspapers are also read, of course, with exceptions, and what he shows to read is largely at random. And wow, of course, almost speechless Lenin can not conduct his treatment. Yes, and he clearly lacked medical knowledge for the role of a conductor and to "kondrashka". But on the whole, Zinoviev gave a comparatively objective picture of Lenin's condition and, probably, like many of Lenin's entourage, still believed in the recovery of the LEADER.

However, autumn was coming to an end, and Ilyich still remained in an almost infantile state.



research institutes. If on September 13 Nadezhda Konstantinovna still informed Inna Armand with some optimism: "The amendment continues, although everything is going damn slowly ...", then already on October 28, alarming notes slipped in the letter: "... The park has become empty, it has become boring. In the summer people crowded around, now there is no one, and V. is very sad, especially on walks. Every day he has some kind of conquest, and somehow we all continue to hang between life and death. Doctors say - all the data that he will recover, but now I know for sure that they don't know a damn thing, they can't know.

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In her skepticism towards doctors, Krupskaya turned out to be right. An unknown illness undermined Lenin's body faster than those around him thought. After all, the Politburo believed that, although the leader's full recovery was hardly possible, his stable state of health, after the June attack had been stopped, would last indefinitely. |

Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in her memoir essay "The Last Six Months of the Life of Vladimir Ilyich," published only in 1989, noted: "And we also talked about the need to be patient, that we must look at this disease as if it were a prison sentence ... Because then I told Vladimir Ilyich that illness should be regarded as a prison, when a person involuntarily drops out of work for a while. She did not know that Lenin did not have long to live, and it would not be possible to get out of the new "prison".

On October 18, Ilyich asked to be taken to Moscow. I spent the night in my Kremlin apartment, the next day I went by car to an agricultural exhibition, but the rain prevented the tour. Then they returned to the Kremlin for the selected books and returned to Gorki. This was Lenin's last visit to the capital. ,

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In November 1923, Trotsky sent a short note to Krupskaya. Unlike Stalin, Lev Davidovich addressed himself very politely: "Dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna! I am sending you an American proposal - regarding the treatment of V.I. - in case it interests you. A priori speaking, I do not have much confidence in the proposal. With comradely greetings, L. Trotsky. What exactly the American Aesculapius offered, we do not know. But there is no doubt that Trotsky's assessment was correct. The then medicine was powerless to help Lenin. However, even today

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nya, probably, too. Except for shunting of the affected vessels of the brain, which is quite exotic even today, and even it could only delay the end for a short while.

From November Vladimir Ilyich's health began to deteriorate gradually. The artist Yuri Annenkov, from whose portrait the first Soviet stamp depicting Lenin was issued in 1924, testified: "In December 1923, L. B. Kamenev took me to Gorki so that I could make a portrait, more precisely, a sketch of the sick Lenin. Krupskaya met us. She said that a portrait was out of the question. Indeed, reclining in a deck chair, wrapped in a blanket and looking past us with a helpless, twisted infantile smile of a man who has fallen into childhood, Lenin could only serve as a model for illustrating his terrible illness, but not for a portrait. |

The feeling of an approaching end arose in mid-January 1924. Then the 13th party conference opened in Moscow. Its participants wanted to know the true state of health of the leader, and on January 18, Krupskaya telephoned the members of the Political Bureau: "Recovery is proceeding satisfactorily. He walks quite well with a stick, but he cannot stand up without outside help... He pronounces individual words, he can repeat all sorts of words, understanding their meaning quite clearly... and Maria Ilyinichna. - B. S.). However, she herself, despite the optimistic tone of her own message, was increasingly worried. Later, in the memoir essay "The Last Half a Year of the Life of Vladimir Ilyich," Nadezhda Konstantinovna admitted: "Starting from Thursday (that is, from January 17! - B.S.), it began to be felt that something was coming; V. I. looked terribly tired and exhausted. He often closed his eyes

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then he turned pale, and most importantly, his expression somehow changed, there was some other look, as if blind. Here one can see something symbolic: a person who is firmly convinced that he sees the way to a better future, at the end of his life, looked like a blind man.

The denouement came on January 21, 1924. The story of paramedic Vladimir Alexandrovich Rukavishnikov, who was on duty that day at

Lenin's bed: "On January 20, at 6:30 am, I replaced N. Popov ... He said briefly that some vague symptoms had appeared that worried him: Vladimir Ilyich was weaker than usual, was lethargic and complained about his eyes - as if he couldn't see well at times. They called from Moscow. Professor Averbakh to examine the vision of Vladimir Ilyich.

Popov went to Moscow, I stayed. Vladimir Ilyich was sitting at that time in his room. with Nadezhda Konstantinovna, and she was reading the newspaper aloud... At 7:45, Maria Ilyinichna told me that supper was ready and that Vladimir Ilyich could be called. At supper Vladimir Ilyich ate almost nothing.

About 9 o'clock Professor Averbakh arrived. Vladimir Ilyich, who had met him earlier, greeted him with a kind gesture. Professor Averbakh established that the vision was excellent, that there were no changes in the bottom of the eye, and that the visual acuity was the same as before.

At [11 o'clock Vladimir Ilyich went to bed, and for 15 minutes I heard his even breathing. Vladimir Ilyich slept very calmly, and it was thought that everything would turn out well.

On the morning of the 21st at 7 o'clock, as always, Nadezhda Konstantinovna got up. She asked how the night went, listened to Ilyich's breathing and said: "Well, everything, apparently, will be fine, you will get some sleep, and the evening weakness will pass." Coffee was served around 8 o'clock. ,

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9 o'clock. Ilyich is still sleeping. Nadezhda Konstantinovna and I have everything ready to let Ilyich wash when he wakes up. I wait for the usual call, I often look into the room, because my alertness has not vanished: Ilyich is still sleeping.

About 10 o'clock - a rustle. Vladimir Ilyich is waking up. "What, Vladimir Ilyich, will you get up?" The answer is uncertain. I see that his sleep did not support him in the least and that he is much weaker than he was yesterday. I reported this to Professors Foerster and Osipov. Meanwhile, coffee was brought to Vladimir Ilyich, and he drank it in bed. He drank, became somewhat animated, but did not get up and soon fell asleep again.

Professor Foerster and I did not leave the bedroom door. Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Maria Ilyinichna were also there. Everyone is alert, but Ilyich sleeps calmly, so calmly, so well that again the confidence breaks through that Ilyich will wake up after

stay safe and everything will go well. So I wanted, so I thought, but it was not so in reality.

At 2:30 Ilyich woke up even more tired and even weaker. Professor Osipov came to see him, looked at his pulse and found that it was weakness, nothing threatening. Maria Ilya brought dinner. Ilyich drank a cup of broth and half a glass of coffee in bed. The food taken did not revive Ilyich, and he became weaker and weaker. Professor Osipov and Professor Foerster watched him directly.

At about 6 o'clock Vladimir Ilyich began to fall into a fit, convulsions reduced his whole body. Professor Ferster and Professor Osipov did not leave for a minute, they watched the activity of the heart and pulse, and I kept a compress on Vladimir Ilyich's head. At 6:35 I noticed that the temperature suddenly rose. I told Professor Osipov about this, he and Professor Foerster did not even believe it right away.

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and they said it was a mistake. But this was not a mistake - after 3 minutes Vladimir Ilyich was not became."

Krupskaya also described Lenin's agony (one can only guess what emotional experiences this "evidence for history" cost her): "More and more bubbling in his chest. His gaze became more unconscious, Vladimir Alexandrovich (Ruka Vishnikov. - B. S.) and Pyotr Petrovich (head of security Pakaln. - B. S.) held him almost in weight in their arms, at times he groaned muffledly, a cramp ran through the body, I held at first by his hot, wet hand, then she only watched how the handkerchief became stained with blood, how the seal of death fell on a deathly pale face. Professor Ferster and Dr. Elistratov injected camphor, tried to maintain artificial respiration, nothing came of it, it was impossible to save. Death came at 6:50 p.m. on January 21, 1924. "Epde" (end (German. - B.S.) - Professor Foerster stated impassively.

It was the strongest shock in Nadezhda Konstantinovna's not very eventful life. As she later admitted: "Time got mixed up somehow." And the first to whom Krupskaya wrote a letter about the last moments of Ilyich was Inna Armand. On January 28, 1924, Nadezhda Konstantinovna finally gathered her strength to tell a loved one how everything was: "My dear, my dear Inochka, we buried Vladi Mir Ilyich yesterday. He was ill for a short time in the last

once. On Sunday (January 20. - B.S.) we studied with him, read to him about the party conference and the Congress of Soviets. The doctors did not expect death at all and still did not believe it when the agony began. They say he was unconscious, but now I know for sure that the doctors do not understand anything. An autopsy revealed colossal sclerosis (which is

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chi, in fact, had no doubt before; Another thing is that the cause of sclerosis has not been established. - B.S.). It could have been much worse, there could have been new paralysis... Each new attack made me feel cold. Now the coffin has not yet been closed up, and it will be possible to look at Ilyich yet. His face is calm and calm. He stood in the House of the Unions, everything was very good there ... "

Krupskaya did not yet know that the coffin would never be closed, and the embalmed body of the leader would be placed in a mausoleum near the Kremlin wall, next to the grave of Inessa Armand, dear to Ilyich, for eternal preservation, as if in anticipation of the coming resurrection. The living god has turned into an icon. Although on January 30, 1924, Nadezhda Konstantinovna appeared in Pravda with a letter, where, in connection with the creation of the fund. for the construction of "monuments to Ilyich", as if she warned against the posthumous deification of her husband: "I have a big request to you: do not let your sadness for Ilyich go into external veneration of his personality. Do not arrange monuments to him, palaces in his name, magnificent celebrations in his memory, etc. - he attached so little importance to all this during his lifetime, he was so burdened by all this. However, if you think about it, read these lines, then the leader's widow here only opposes the external forms of his veneration. The best monument to Ilyich, according to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, was to be the building of socialism and communism, the mastery of the only true doctrine, which would soon be called Leninism. Krupskaya was embarrassed that Lenin's body was going to be placed in a mausoleum - this smelled of some kind of Eastern religions, and she had long been a consistent atheist.

But the party leadership managed to persuade the widow: you can't deprive millions of contemporaries and descendants of the opportunity to see with their own eyes the genius of all times! Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others

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the leaders needed the relics of the main saint of the new religion. Former manager of affairs of the Council of People's Commissars

under Lenin, Vladimir Dmitrievich Bonch-Bruевич recalled:  
"Nadezhda Konstantinovna, with whom I constantly talked on this issue, was against the mummification of Vladimir Ilyich. But the idea of preserving the image of Vladimir Ilyich so embraced everyone that it was extremely necessary, extremely necessary for millions of the proletariat, and it began to seem to everyone that all personal considerations should be left behind and join the general desire ("the majority of the Politburo," Vladimir Dmitri did not venture to add rievich - B. S.).

Krupskaya submitted herself to party discipline, and not for the first time she sacrificed "personal considerations" for the benefit of the revolution. It is unlikely that she then realized that the deification of Lenin would save her from the sad fate of other old Bolsheviks, most of whom did not survive the 1937th year. Although back in July 1924, at the UT congress of the Komsomol, she called: "Lenin should not be turned into an icon, his ideas should serve as a guide to action." It turned out that they turned Ilyich into an icon, and many of his ideas were turned into reality - both about terror and about the seizure of surplus grain from the peasants (this, as we remember, Lenin was very worried even before his death), and about the ideological monopoly of the party in the Soviet state and the suppression of any dissent. Nadezh de Konstantinovna very soon had to experience the fight against dissent on her own skin.

In the first days after the death of Ilyich, Inna Armand wrote a penetrating letter to Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "My dear, my beloved, my dear, I hug you and kiss you so tightly, so tightly. I kiss your dear eyes. All my thoughts, all my thoughts are with you ... My dear, dear, I know that it is impossible to console, but still you think that you are not

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all alone, that you still have your girls, as you call us, and that we love you dearly, dearly, and together with you we grieve terribly for Vladimir Ilyich. He's so dear, beloved, I still didn't want to believe. How can this be? Here (Inessa, together with her husband, the German communist Hugo Eberlein, worked in the Soviet trade mission in Germany. - B.S.) all the comrades are experiencing this common grief so hard. Yesterday there was a cell, so no one could speak properly, everyone was crying so much. If I could come to you, hug you, be with you all the time. Perhaps you would be a little glad in the clear eyes of my girl. I will write to you, my dear, my beloved. And you, when you can, when it's easier, write to me, it's become so hard and lonely for me here,

What. downright horror. There, I know, all the comrades will pull themselves together, will close together more closely, will work more amicably. So I would like to be with you, to grieve together and together, clenching our teeth, to start working harder and better. I kiss you many times, my dear, beloved, I constantly think about you. and about our dear Ilyich. Hugo firmly, firmly shakes your hand. Your Ina. As soon as there is the slightest opportunity, I will definitely come to you, my dear.

As for the fact that after the death of the leader, the party members would "tighten up", "close up" and begin to "work more friendly", the daughter of Inessa Fyodorovna was greatly mistaken. From the beautiful German distance, it was probably difficult to see that already in the last months of Lenin's life, a tense struggle for power began in the party elite. Krupskaya was also to be drawn into this struggle. Lenin's widow's support for one of the warring factions became a certain amount of political capital. Thus, corresponding

the existing group, as it were, consecrated their activities with the name of Ilyich. Nadezhda Konstantinovna

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turned into a symbolic figure of the keeper of Lenin's precepts.

The last months of Lenin's life were darkened for Krupskaya by the realization that her husband did not love her after all. Even those around him noticed that Ilyich was especially happy about the appearance of Maria Ilyinichna, and the presence of Nadezhda Konstantinovna sometimes irritated him. Although Lenin, appreciating the selfless devotion of his wife, tried to hide his dislike from her. Rukavishnikov captured a typical episode: "Once I was an involuntary witness to this: Ilyich is sitting with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. She reads, he listens attentively. Sometimes it requires re-reading this or that place. Both seem to be in a great mood. But here she is. Ilyich sat down, somewhat covering his face with his hand, leaning his elbows on the table in a thoughtful pose... And suddenly tears rolled from under his hand... Choo, a rustle. Steps. Someone is coming. Ilyich straightened up. Wiped away the tears. I took up the book, as if nothing had happened ... "How do you know if Lenin remembered Inessa Armand at such moments ... .

Nadezhda Konstantinovna gradually recovered from the shock she had experienced. A. I. Radchenko, an employee of the People's Commissariat of Education, wrote in her diary on February 3: "Today, for the first time since Lenin's death, Nadezhda Konstantinovna came to a meeting of the People's Commissariat of Education. She lost weight utterly during this time - some kind of shadow. Apparently, it was very hard for her from furtive glances of condolence. A Varya Armand

recalled: "Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in order not to be alone with irreparable grief, plunged headlong into party affairs and work in the People's Commissariat of Millet." .

On June 14, 1924, Krupskaya wrote to Varya, who was resting after pneumonia in Suuk-su: "I live as before: I was on my own. beloved Proho

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rovka, at the State Manufactory, at the Lievers factory - hung around there, even the baby October (we are talking about the Octobers - a rite introduced by the Bolsheviks, parodying baptism; the fruit of this rite was numerous Industrina, Vilena, Oktyabrina and even Traktor in the 20s. - B.S.). I love visiting factories. Well, the youth had it, I tried - at the worker's faculty of Pokrovsky, at the 1<sup>st</sup> Moscow State University, with the Timiryazevites - I made reports on work in the village. More on liquidation without literacy. I will also go to Tver, Yaroslavl, Iva Novo-Voznesensk. I won't go on vacation, but I will spend three days a week in Gorki, I was already last week, I'm going today. It's better to write there. Manyasha (M. I. Ulyanova. - B. S.) is getting sick all the time. Today they also set doctors on me, but I only agree to drink any vile thing, but I won't obey their regime, I'll tell you in advance ... I now specialized in work in the countryside, and they harness me to all sorts of committees for work in the countryside, all the work arrives. Therefore, I do not go to the Lenin Institute ... I now have many new cards of Vladimir Ilyich.

For the rest of her life, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote memoirs of Fr. Lenin. But that wasn't what took up most of my time. Krupskaya was increasingly sucked into the bureaucratic swamp. What, one might ask, did she understand in the life of the Russian village, which she knew only from her comfortable life in exile in rich Shushenskoe? And how much sense was from its meetings in countless commissions? Later, in September 1929, speaking at a party conference in the Baumansky district of Moscow, Nadezhda Konstantinovna painted a completely apocalyptic picture: "You used to sleep at night and see: Enlightenment affairs lie in front of you, and someone is eating them up. And this is Narkomfin. You should only leave for a month - fear! - something already

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It happened. We have to fight for every issue. Now there is a frantic struggle for the restructuring of the cause of public education (this struggle took place in 1924, and in any other of the more than 70 years of the existence of Soviet power, they did not know how to organize the cause of education otherwise than through struggle and perestroika. - B. S.). But we alone, the enlightened ones, are powerless to do much. We don't have a sufficient base, we don't have enough attention of the masses." So you can see the piles of papers being devoured by the monster People's Commissar Finn! And Krupskaya had to swim in this paper sea all her life, reading a lot of incoming and outgoing messages, participating in countless meetings to coordinate projects and programs. Although, of course, she was far from Lenin's record of 40 meetings a day. |

Back in 1921, in one of the articles, Nadezhda Konstantinovna advocated the introduction in Soviet institutions of the Taylor system used in American factories. This system, as you know, consists in the expedient division of labor and the maximum rationalization of labor movements. Krupskaya naively believed that bureaucracy could be eliminated if only rational management methods were introduced: "Who is to blame here - evil saboteurs, old bureaucrats who got into our commissariats, Soviet ladies? No, the root of bureaucracy lies not in the evil will of certain individuals, but in the lack of the ability to systematically and rationally organize work ... Employees of Soviet institutions, employees of people's commissariats ... must be as detailed as possible to familiarize themselves with the methods of labor productivity.. Only by raising the level of consciousness of all employees, only by involving them in the work of raising the productivity of the work of the commissariats, is it possible to really improve things and destroy, not in words, but in deeds, dead bureaucracy.

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To Nadezhda Konstantinovna's credit, she did not attribute the growth of bureaucracy to the intrigues of enemies. Later, in 1937, this explanation became a propaganda cover for repressions against old party cadres. However, the belief that it is enough to teach officials how to optimally arrange folders on a table and use an adding machine, and raise their level of consciousness in order to get rid of bureaucracy, turned out to be a myth too. In practice, in the field of management, it is not the Taylor system that operates, but Parkinson's law - each institution seeks to increase its staff, regardless of the increase or decrease in its functions. Really reduces

bureaucracy only diminishes the role of the state in the life of the country. Socialism transfers almost all the functions of regulating the economy and public life to the state. Therefore, in the USSR, the growth of bureaucracy was absolutely inevitable. No attempt to introduce rational systems of government could limit the growth of the bureaucracy. And, as we have seen, in 1929 the situation in this respect did not seem better to Krupskaya than in 1921. Although, of course, bureaucrats of all levels, from the people's commissar to a simple clerk, have become more literate, and office equipment has increased in institutions.

But in the mid-1920s, Krupskaya was forced to pay much more attention not to the rationalization of managerial work and pedagogy, but to politics. Immediately after the first attack of the leader's illness, the struggle for Lenin's legacy, still hidden from the eyes of the public, began. And in this struggle, Nadezhda Konstantinovna had to determine her place.

Of the members of the Politburo, personally closest to Lenin, and therefore to Krupskaya, were Zinoviev and Kamenev. Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna were connected with them for many years.

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joint stay in exile. However, the third and main member of the triumvirate, General Secretary Stalin, did not arouse sympathy in Krupskaya. And after the December incident, their relationship was generally rather strained, although formally correct.

On the other hand, Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not but know that in the last months of his conscious life, Lenin, before he lost the ability to express his thoughts, became close to Trotsky and supported him against Stalin. In the first weeks after her husband's death, Krupskaya tried to establish closer contact with Lev Davidovich than before. So, on January 29, 1924, she sent a letter to Trotsky with news that was pleasant for his conceited nature: "I am writing to tell you that about a month before his death, looking through your book, Vladimir Ilyich stopped at the place where you characterize Marx and Lenin, and asked me to read this passage to him, listened very attentively, then looked through it again himself. And here's something else I want to say: the attitude that V.I. had developed towards you when you came to us in London from Siberia did not change with him until his death. I wish you, Lev Davydovich, strength, health and hug you tightly.

Later, Trotsky, already in exile, in one of his articles after her death, called Krupskaya "a sincere and delicate woman", probably referring to this letter as well. And in his memoirs he commented on him this way: "She took two extreme points of connection with Lenin: the October day of 1902, when, after escaping from Siberia, I raised Lenin in the early morning from his hard London bed, and the end of December 1923, when Lenin re-read my assessment of his life's work twice.

This meant the following passage from Trotsky's article "On the Fifty Years (National in Le

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Nina), written in 1920: "Lenin reflects the working class not only in its proletarian present, but also in its still fresh peasant past. This most indisputable leader of the proletariat has not only a muzhik appearance, but also a strong muzhik background. In front of Smolny stands a monument to another great man of the world proletariat: Marx on a stone, in a black frock coat... You can't even mentally dress Lenin in a black frock coat. In some portraits, Marx is depicted with a starched shirt-front wide open, on which something like a monocle dangles... Marx was born and raised on a different national-cultural soil, he breathed. different atmosphere, just as the tops of the German working class have their roots not in the peasant village, but in the guild craft and in the complex urban culture of the Middle Ages. Probably, Lenin at the end of his life is flattered to realize that he is on a par with Marx, and even closer in spirit than the founder of the doctrine, to the common people.

Lev Davidovich continued: "Two decades passed between these two points, first joint work, then fierce factional struggle, and again joint work on a higher historical basis. According to Hegel: thesis, antithesis, synthesis. And Krupskaya testified that Lenin's attitude towards me, despite the long period of antithesis, remained "London": that is, an attitude of warm support and friendly affection, but already on a higher historical basis.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna quite had the tact not to specify in a short letter that between October 1902 and December 1922 Lenin more than once or twice awarded Trotsky with completely non-parliamentary epithets, of which "judas" is still the mildest. There were also "rogue", and "scoundrel", and some

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some others from the same series. But now Krupskaya was trying to win Lev Davidovich over to her side against Stalin, and it was not worth remembering the old one.

However, Trotsky did not justify the hopes placed in him. The chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council at that moment, as well as in the last months of Lenin's life, was seriously ill with epilepsy, was forced to retire from active political life for a while and was unable to resist Stalin and his temporary

allies. .

Nadezhda Konstantinovna felt a certain ambivalence in her position. Friendship with Zinoviev and Kamenev and, at the same time, very cool relations with Stalin. She did not know Trotsky very well, but Ilyich showed great interest in this man and clearly supported many of his undertakings. So it's also very out of hand to quarrel with Lev Davidovich. Therefore, it would be ideal for Krupskaya to reach a compromise between the various factions and restore the unity of the party. Lenin was also striving for the same thing, fearing that the rivalry between Trotsky and Stalin would split the party and thereby weaken its ability to hold on to the gains of the Russian revolution and carry out a world revolution.

Even during the life of Ilyich, on October 31, 1923, Krupskaya wrote to Zinoviev about the just held joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, at which Trotsky was attacked for his demand for the democratization of inner-party life: "Dear Grigory, after the plenum I wrote you a letter, but You were leaving, and the letter was lying. Now, re-reading it, I decided not to send it to you, all the questions are pointed in it. In the atmosphere of that "freedom of language" that prevailed at the plenum, it was appropriate and understandable, but a week later it sounds different... In all this disgrace...

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Trotsky is not the only one to blame. For everything that has happened, we have to blame our group too: you, Stalin and Kamenev. You could, of course, but did not want to prevent this disgrace. If you could not do this, it would prove the complete impotence of our group, its complete helplessness. No, it's not the impossibility, but the unwillingness. Our

themselves took the wrong, unacceptable tone. You can not create an atmosphere of quiet squabbles and personal accounts.

Workers - I'm not talking about workers like Yevdokimov or Zalutsky (party functionaries. - B.S.), workers by origin, but who have long turned into professionals, but about workers from a plant and factory - not only Trotsky would be sharply condemned, but also us. The healthy class instinct of the workers would force them to speak sharply against both sides, but even more sharply against our group responsible for the general tone. That is why everyone was so afraid that this squabble would be taken out to the masses. The whole incident has to be hidden from the workers. Well, and the leaders, who have to hide something from the workers (I'm not talking about purely conspiratorial cases - that's a special article), do not dare to tell them everything - what is it? You can not do it this way.

The abuse of the name of Ilyich, which took place at the plenum, is also completely unacceptable. I imagine how indignant he would be if he knew how his name was being abused. It's good that I wasn't there when Petrovsky said that Trotsky was to blame for Ilyich's illness, I would have shouted: this is a lie, V.I. was most concerned not with Trotsky, but with the national question and the morals that had settled in our tops. You know that V. I. saw the danger of a split not only in the personal qualities of Trotsky, but also in the personal qualities of Stalin and others. And because you know it, the references to Ilyich were unacceptable, insincere. They couldn't be allowed. They were hypocrites. Personally, these links brought me

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unbearable pain. I thought: is it worth it for you to get well when the closest comrades at work treat him so, take his opinion so little into account, distort it so much?

And now the main thing. The moment is too serious to create a split and make it psychologically impossible for Trotsky to work. We must try to deal with him in a comradely manner. Formally, now the whole odium (in this case - guilt. - B.S.) for the split has been dumped on Trotsky, but it has been dumped, but in essence, hasn't Trotsky been brought to this? I don't know the details, and it's not the point—because of the trees you often can't see the forest—but the crux of the matter: Trotsky must be taken into account as a party force and be able to organize a situation where this force would be used to the maximum for the party. Well, here, she said what lies in my soul.

Of course, none of the triumvirs "comradely" dealt with Trotsky at that moment

was going to. Grigory Evseevich and Lev Borisovich could not imagine in a nightmare that in some two years they would have to urgently try to form a bloc with their worst enemy, Lev Davidovich, in a hopeless attempt to stop Joseph Vissarionovich's movement to absolute power. The "wonderful Georgian" then finished them all off.

It is significant that, despite the critical remarks, Nadezhda Konstantinovna calls the group of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin "ours". Trotsky for her is not only not "ours", but in general a certain force, almost external in relation to the party, which only needs to be used in the interests of the party. Use as long as there is a need for it, and there ... The Moor has done his job, the Moor must go. Interestingly, Krupskaya expressed her opinion here, or repeated the words of Ilyich?

Trotsky described the history of his relationship with Lenin during the period of Ilyich's illness as follows:

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"Lenin sensed that, in connection with his illness, as yet almost imperceptible threads of a conspiracy were weaving behind him and behind me ... There is no doubt that for current affairs it was in many cases more convenient for Lenin to rely on Stalin, Zinoviev or Kamenev than me. Constantly preoccupied with saving his own and other people's time, Lenin tried to minimize the expenditure of forces on overcoming internal friction. I had my own views, my own methods of work, my own methods for implementing decisions that had already been made. Lenin knew enough about this and knew how to respect it. That is why he knew all too well that I was not fit for assignments. Where he needed daily executors of his tasks, he turned to others ... Thus, Lenin first attracted Rykov and Tsyurupa, and then ... Kamenev, as his deputies for the chairmanship of the Council of Commissars. I thought this was the right choice. Lenin needed obedient practical assistants. I wasn't fit for this role...

In the last weeks before the second blow (i.e., in November or early December 1922. - B.S.) ... Lenin had a big conversation with me about my future work ... "Yes, we have monsters of bureaucracy, Lenin remarked, I was horrified after returning to work ... But that is precisely why you should not, in my opinion, plunge into separate departments beyond the military ... You need to become my deputy (in the Council of People's Commissars. - RB. WITH.). I ... referred to the "apparatus", which makes it more and more difficult for me to work even in the military department. "So you can shake up the apparatus," he quickly picked up

Lenin, alluding to the expression I once used. I replied that I meant not only state bureaucracy, but also party bureaucracy; that the essence of all the difficulties lies in the combination of two apparatuses and in the mutual harboring of influential groups that gather around the hierarchy of the party

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secretaries. Lenin listened intently and confirmed my thoughts in that deep, chesty tone that appeared in him when, convinced that the interlocutor understood him to the end, and discarding the inevitable conventions of the conversation, he openly touched on the most important and disturbing. After a little thought, Lenin put the question point-blank: "So you are proposing to open a struggle not only against state bureaucracy, but also against the Orgburo of the Central Committee (which determined the personnel policy. - B.S.)?" I laughed in surprise. The Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee meant the very center of the Stalinist apparatus. "Perhaps it turns out like this." "Well, then," continued Lenin, obviously pleased that we had named the essence of the question, "I propose to you a bloc: against bureaucracy in general, against the Orgburo in particular." "It is flattering to conclude a good block with a good person," I replied. We agreed to meet again after some time. Lenin proposed to consider the organizational aspect of the matter. He planned the creation of a commission under the Central Committee for the fight against bureaucracy (it turned out: we will strike bureaucracy with bureaucracy! - R.B.S.). We both had to get into it. In essence, this commission was supposed to become a lever for destroying the Stalinist faction, as the backbone of the bureaucracy, and for creating such conditions in the party that would give me the opportunity to become Lenin's deputy, in his opinion: the successor to the post of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Only in this connection does the meaning of the so-called testament become completely clear... The indisputable purpose of the testament is to make my work of leadership easier." According to Trotsky, only the aggravation of Lenin's illness prevented the success of the planned bloc. I think that such a conversation between Lenin and Trotsky really could be. Only Vladi Mir Ilyich thought a little differently to himself than Lev Davidovich understood. Lenin felt with all his might

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Stalin's ongoing control over the party apparatus was a threat to his own power, especially in connection with his illness. Ilyich then still hoped that he had time for active political activity. And he hoped that he would be able to announce the "testament"

at one of the party congresses.

It is probable that after Stalin's removal from the post of general secretary, Lenin hoped to give this position again purely technical functions, and to make the Council of People's Commissars the center of power. And, in order to guarantee the preservation of his influence during periods when the disease would not allow for direct leadership, he developed a "system of checks and balances" (today this system is often considered a proprietary invention of the first Russian president). Trotsky would have replaced Ilyich as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, but would have, in turn, three deputies who were not very sympathetic to him - Kamenev, Rykov and Tsyurupa. In addition, Stalin would also remain a counterbalance to Trotsky, who would also receive not the last post in the system of power.

The proposed commission for combating bureaucracy was pure fiction, and Ilyich himself understood this. He hoped that Trotsky would fall for this proposal and decide that he would receive an effective lever to strengthen his influence. In fact, as the experience of the Soviet decades has shown, commissions of this kind repeatedly set up only increased bureaucracy. They were intended only to give the people the impression that the authorities were fighting the bureaucrats. However, the disease nullified Lenin's plan.

After the death of Lenin, Trotsky was doomed to defeat in the fight against Stalin. Although Vladimir Ilyich warned in his "Letter to the Congress" that Lev Davidovich should not be blamed for his former "non-Bolshevism", the majority in Polit.

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the Bureau and the Central Committee thought otherwise. In the struggle to take control of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky, in principle, could not win. Both the prejudice towards him of the main part of the party members, who remember his speeches against the Bolsheviks, and Stalin's control over the party apparatus played their role here.

For the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, the only real path to power was the path of a military coup. Trotsky was still popular among the officers and rank and file of the Red Army. In his hands was control over the apparatus of the Red Army. A technically armed seizure of power after Lenin's death was quite feasible. Many supporters tempted Lev Davidovich with this tempting prospect. But Trotsky's idea of a coup



verg. In this case, how would he differ from some Latin American dictator or Mussolini who had just carried out a successful "march on Rome" in 1922? Trotsky needed not just power in Russia, but power to implement a certain idea - the world proletarian revolution. Russia was needed as a springboard, but mainly as an example for such a revolution. After the failure of the Polish campaign, Lev Davidovich did not believe in the export of the world revolution on the bayonets of the Red Army. But unlike Stalin, he continued to believe in the utopia of the revolution itself until his last day.

When you take a retrospective look at the three most prominent Bolshevik leaders - Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky - then you realize that only the latter, in terms of his abilities, could fit perfectly into the Western democratic system. As an administrator, orator and publicist, unlike Vladimir Ilyich and Iosif Vissarionovich, Lev Davidovich was excellent. If Trotsky,

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for example, if he had stayed in England in 1902, he could have become close to the local Laborites, would have made a successful party career and, you see, in the 20s he would have become a minister of the Labor cabinet, and eventually, maybe even prime minister. The script, of course; fantastic, but not that incredible. After all, Trotsky at the beginning of the century had not yet stained himself with revolutionary terror, his hands were not up to the elbow in blood. For the usual career of a "bourgeois" politician, only one thing was required - to abandon the idea of a world proletarian revolution. And Trotsky could well fit into the political establishment of both England and the United States. But he never, neither before 1917 nor after his expulsion from the USSR, even tried to do this.

As for Lenin and Stalin, it is simply impossible to imagine them sitting in the American Senate or the British Parliament. The talents of these Soviet leaders were used to create a cohesive and disciplined party aimed at seizing power by force. Lenin and Stalin also knew how to keep, through skillful intrigues, the leadership of such a party after it had taken power in Russia. But in a Western democracy, these talents would not be in demand. Lenin and Stalin were able to lead a "state with a rigid centralization of power and in the absence of basic democratic freedoms." It is unlikely that in the same England they could even lay claim to the role of back bench parliamentarians. However, in the conditions of revolutionary Russia, the politician

Trotsky's type was bound to fail, while Lenin's and Stalin's were bound to win.

Krupskaya felt that Trotsky could not prevail. And she was in no hurry to join the opposition camp, which was generally alien to her. However, in early 1925, shortly after Trotsky was removed from his post

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the heads of the military department, Zinoviev and Kamenev finally realized that Stalin was slowly but surely reducing their role in making really important decisions. Bosom friends saw that their majority in relation to the General Secretary in the leading "troika" no longer means anything, since Stalin placed his people in the Central Committee. Zinoviev and Kamenev decided to unite with the disgraced Trotsky and give battle to Stalin and his supporters. The KhPU Party Congress, which was held in Moscow from December 18 to December 31, 1925, was chosen as the site of the battle. Initially, the congress was planned to be held in Leningrad, where Zinoviev could rely on the local party organization devoted to him. However, the Stalinist majority of the Central Committee insisted on moving the congress to the capital under the pretext that otherwise the work of government bodies would be paralyzed. Krupskaya this time supported the so-called "new opposition" to Stalin. However, during the congress, almost no one spoke on the side of Zinoviev and Kamenev, except for the Leningrad delegation. After all, the overwhelming majority of delegates were appointed by the office of the general secretary, and free elections even in the parties had already turned into a sham. Trotsky, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, did not make a speech at the congress. Krupskaya was among the speakers and was openly obstructed by a hundred LINISTS. }

Her speech is remarkable in many ways. Nadezhda Konstantinovna began by stating: "In the old days, our party took shape in the struggle against Menshevism and the Socialist-Revolutionaries; in disputes with them, the members of the party developed the conviction that it was precisely the Bolshevik line that was the most correct line. Now, comrades, we live in different conditions... Of course, in the struggle against the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, we are accustomed to covering our opponents with what is called obscene language, and, of course, we must not allow

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party members in such tones carried on polemics among themselves.

These words made me remember an old episode, when my future wife and I went one afternoon to eat a modest complex lunch at the Vityaz restaurant. Not far away, two young waitresses were sitting at a table discussing in figurative Russian terms the comparative merits and demerits of their husbands. Another waitress, an elderly woman, reproachfully remarked to them: "Girls, why are you obscenities to the whole hall!" One gets the impression that Krupskaya tried to exhort her fellow delegates in exactly the same way and with the same chances of success: comrades! It's one thing when we let swear words at all sorts of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries! Here, as they say, God himself, i.e. (again guilty, misspoken) Lenin ordered! The thing is holy! But you can't swear at your own party members! Because the Bolshevik line as a whole is the only correct one, and those who deviate from it can always be corrected, discussed, and perhaps even improved in some way.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna does not notice the viciousness of her argument. Once it is admitted that "the Bolshevik line is the most correct line," the new conditions, when the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries have been successfully reduced to the nail, do not fundamentally change anything. Since there is a general line of the party, one can always find new apostate Mensheviks who do not adhere to it. And deal with them accordingly: first with obscenities, then into exile, and finally against the wall. And it is incomprehensible why Krupskaya, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other oppositionists were offended that at the congress they were, in fact, almost cursed. The "new opposition" took the position of the former Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and was inevitably to share their fate.

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Nadezhda Konstantinovna ended her speech by opposing Lenin's views to the line that the majority of the congress adhered to: "Vladimir Ilyich said: Marx's teaching is invincible because it is correct. And our congress must take care to seek and find the correct line. This is his task. You can't be comforted by the fact that the majority is always right. In the history of our party there have been congresses where the majority was wrong. Let us recall, for example, the Stockholm Congress (Noise. Voices: "This is a subtle allusion to thick circumstances.") The majority should not revel in the fact that it is the majority, but should look impartially for the right decision. If it is true (Voice: "Lev Davydovich, you have new associates") ... it will direct ours. party on a new path.

We need to work together to find the right path. The enormous significance of the congress lies precisely in the fact that this congress gives expression to collective thought... I think that cries about this or that being true Leninism are out of place here. In recent days, by the way, I have also reread the first chapter of Vladimir Ilyich's book *The State and Revolution*, written by him just after the July days (1917 - B.S.), when he himself was on the verge of death. There he wrote: "There have been cases in history when the teachings of great revolutionaries were distorted after their death. Harmless icons were made of them, but by honoring their names, they dulled the revolutionary edge of their teaching. I think that this bitter quotation compels us not to cover up one or another of our views with the moniker of Leninism, but rather to consider this or that question in essence. I think, comrades, what about the split, about the distrust of the Central Committee, etc. d. out of the question. That's not what we're talking about right now. Now we are talking about how we can further establish a framework for joint discussion of constantly emerging again and again in the course of work.

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issues, establish a framework such that within this framework a comradely discussion of the issue is possible.

When Nadezhda Konstantinovna took the floor for the second time while discussing the work of the Central Control Commission, she was simply not allowed to speak, constantly interrupted by well-organized shouts from her seats. Because Krupskaya said absolutely seditious things, quite in the spirit of Lenin's testament and the bloc proposed by Ilyich with Trotsky: . This gives our Organizing Bureau, our Secretariat, truly immense power. I think that when the points of the Rules are being discussed, we must look more attentively than we have done so far to see how it is reasonable to limit these movements, these layoffs, which often make it impossible for the Party to speak frankly and openly... I I appeal to the congress with a request to think very carefully about this. (Voice: "He is thinking.") I would like the congress to think about how to do it in order to get the opportunity for the party to create an inner-party democracy. It was no longer possible for Nadezhda Konstantinovna to say a word calmly. She exploded: "Comrades from the Central Control Commission, from the presidium know perfectly well that for me ... this whole campaign was completely unexpected ... Chairman, let me speak calmly, they interrupt all the time ... I think that here

We must try by common efforts to find new forms of work for the Central Control Commission, such forms that would really ensure the unity of the Party.

The voices of Lenin's widow and other oppositionists remained the voice of one crying in the wilderness. With them, none of the Stalinist majority was going to conduct a "comradely discussion" and, moreover, jointly search for the "correct line". All questions already

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were decided by Stalin and his comrades-in-arms, and those who disagreed had to be hounded and forced to capitulate. They were no longer considered equal "comrades". Krupskaya very soon felt it herself.

Shortly after the congress, she told her fellow sap at the People's Commissariat for Education, Alisa Ivanovna Radchenko: "They constantly hound me along the party line, and how they hound me. They cannot forgive me for my closeness to Ilyich and for being aware of facts that were unfavorable for some comrades - now they take revenge on me for this and do not stand on ceremony with me and in every possible way emphasize their disrespect. They even reproach me for being of noble origin ... They say that I am allegedly far from life, do not understand the essence of disagreements, distort facts, transcripts, etc. etc." At the joint plenum of 1926, Ordzhonikidze addressed her quite boorishly: "What is it for (that is, support for the demands of the opposition. - B.S.) You need, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in order to frighten the entire party, so that the party loses respect for you... But the party loves you not because you are a great person, but because you are a close person of our great Lenin." This formula cannot be denied cynical accuracy.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna confessed to Radchenko: "Of the 300 people at the plenum of the Central Committee, only ten have the courage to greet me." These days, according to Trotsky, Krupskaya said: "If Volodya were alive, he would be in prison now" ... Probably, at the same time, legends were born that Stalin threatened Krupskaya, in case of disobedience, to declare Ilyich's wife another woman - either Inessa Armand, or Lydia Fotieva. Of course, in reality there was no such conversation and could not be. It was too well known in the country and in the world who exactly was Lenin's wife. Rather, if Krupskaya still had to rap

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Cress together with other oppositionists, then

in official mythology, Lenin would have turned into a bachelor altogether. In any case, the existence of Ilyich's wife would cease to be mentioned in memoirs and biographies.

Already in 1926, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were expelled from the Politburo and their expulsion from the party was only a matter of time. Krupskaya managed to jump off the sinking ship of the opposition in time. On May 15, 1927, she wrote a letter to Zinoviev, where she criticized him for speaking a few days earlier at the House of the Unions on the 15th anniversary of Pravda: "In my opinion, you are all wrong. You knew that speeches were broadcast on the radio, and therefore your speech was addressed not to the party, but to the country. The non-party working and peasant masses consider that the opposition is going against the main party and Soviet line. This shows that the criticism was overdone. Self-criticism is one thing, and accusing criticism, prosecutorial criticism from outside, is another. "We must get rid of the situation that has arisen, and not worsen it ... Your statement, in my opinion, is a mistake. What else could you count on, if not a sharp scandal? In order to influence the policy of the party, one must first of all get rid of the period of opposition. You know how I have been looking at this matter since autumn: it seems to me harmful to set up a permanent buzz for the sake of buzz and history. After your speech, which I can now judge from the transcript, I had a desire to state my point of view in the press. This desire intensified when I was told about the action of the opposition in the districts. This is not politics - booze. It is very difficult for me to write all this to you. You know that I personally treated you and continue to treat you as an old comrade, but I consider your tactics to be erroneous.

On May 19, she wrote a similar letter to Trotz to whom: "You know that since the autumn of last year I

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left the opposition. I told Grigory (Zinoviev. - B.S.) then that we were heading straight for another party with such methods of work and that I would not agree to this. I was against organizing into a faction from the very beginning." The next day, Pravda published a letter from Krupskaya: "Closer comrades know that as early as last autumn I left the opposition. I came to the conclusion that with criticism the opposition, including myself, went too far, quantity turned into quality, comradely criticism turned into factional criticism. The broad peasant and working masses understood the action of the opposition as a step against the fundamental principles.

principles of the Communist Party and Soviet power. Of course, this view is fundamentally wrong. However, this fact eloquently speaks of the need for more restrained and comradely forms of polemic. I consider the party's self-criticism extremely important, but I think that this self-criticism should not turn into accusing each other of all mortal sins. A business-like, sober discussion of questions is needed. Only such a discussion can guarantee the most correct solution of questions. The current moment confronts the Party with a number of very complex questions that require discussion, it requires a quick resolution of them. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, the moment we are living through requires maximum unity of action, intense work according to a jointly planned plan. Under these conditions, a factional approach to solving problems can only harm the cause.

In essence, it was a surrender, and not a very honorable one at that. Behind the bureaucratic newspeak so beloved by Krupskaya, with its "self-criticism of the party", "the moment being lived through" and "intense work according to a jointly planned plan", is hidden complete subordination to the apparatus. Nadezhda Konstantinovna is trying to justify the surrender of the former

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positions by the complexity of the current moment, which dictates the complete unity of the party ranks. If you read Pravda, it will turn out that during the more than seventy years of Soviet power the situation was very difficult, and the struggle against external and internal enemies required unity and unquestioning subordination of the minority to the majority. But one should not accuse Lenin's widow of some special lack of soul. In the end, she is an old lonely woman, and in the end, all the leaders of various kinds of oppositions capitulated to Stalin - much stronger men: Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov ... Trotsky, who did not give up in distant Mexico, was overtaken by death at the hands of an agent NKVD. In addition, the party, the revolution and Lenin were for Krupskaya the meaning of life, and the masses already connected all this inextricably with the name of Stalin, the great continuer of the cause of Ilyich. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was ready to give up her principles, if only she would be recognized for her right to the memory of Lenin, to a public story about what in the life of the leader was known only to her. And to a place in history - as the wife of the architect of the greatest, as the Bolsheviks believed, the revolution of all times and peoples.

However, even after the surrender, Nadezhda Konstantinovna's life was not sweet. On July 5, 1927, A. I. Radchenko wrote in her diary: "I was going to

she (Krupskaya. - B. S.) with N. L. Meshcheryakov to go to Ulyanovsk, to see how political enlightenment affairs are in Ilyich's homeland. But one old comrade warned them that the Black Hundreds were divorced there, that they might shoot from around the corner. She answered tiredly: "Is it a pity, or what? I would only have to write my memoirs about Ilyich, and then let whoever wants to eat me ... My nerves, like strings, ache, as if naked."

But gradually the disgrace from the Leninist widow was removed. In December 1927, at the XU entrance of the Krup party

skuyu, who was formerly a member of the Central Kon; - the role of the Commission, for the first time elected to the Central Committee, and immediately a full member. She remained a member of the highest party body until her death.

According to the recollections of an old acquaintance of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Dora Abramovna Lazurkina, who worked in the Leningrad Regional Committee together with S. M. Kirov, in December 1931 she received a letter from Krupskaya. She wrote: "I feel badly, both physically and in general. I beg you to come to me, we will celebrate the New Year, as we met him with Ilyich in Geneva, in 1905. With this letter, Lazurkina went to Kirov. Sergei Mironovitch advised her to immediately go to Moscow: "We must definitely go to Nadezhda Konstantinovna. I saw her recently and she looks very bad. She has a very heavy mood. We will issue a business trip, stay with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. Try to calm her down, restore her vigor. Wonderful person Hope

Konstantinovna.

Krupskaya was delighted with the arrival of Lazurkina. Dora Abramovna described the joint meeting of the New Year in this way: "We recalled the meeting of the New Year 1905 in Geneva, our young revolutionary years, Ilyich, we sang the songs that he loved. At three o'clock everyone left, Nadezhda Konstantinovna asked to stay with her. We lay on the same bed, talked for the rest of the night, slept a little, and again continued to talk and talk. This went on for three days. Nadezhda Konstantinovna sadly shared with me about her fate after the KhP Congress, that she was cut off from the Central Committee, that she was removed from everything that the Party lives for, that they look askance at her. I tried to carry out Sergei Mironovich's instructions, to cheer up Nadezhda Konstantinovna. I saw that she was under the impression of Vladimir's letter



Ilyich about Stalin, and tried to convince her that Stalin's role was great. Without him, we would have been a prisoner of the opposition and currents for a long time to come."

Lazurkina persuaded Nadezhda Konstantinov to write a letter to the Central Committee with a request to include her in "active party life." Krupskaya did not write such a letter. But on November 16, 1932, a personal letter from Nadezhda Konstantinovna to Stalin appeared in Pravda in connection with the sudden death of his second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva: "These days, I somehow think about you and I want to shake your hand. It's hard to lose a loved one. I remember a couple of conversations with you in Ilyich's office during his illness. They gave me courage." Krupskaya did not know that Alliluyeva had shot herself, suspecting her husband of adultery. In her letter, Lenin's widow made it clear that she had forgotten the December 1922 quarrel. |

I note that Krupskaya's anguish was now no longer connected with the campaign of harassment and isolation carried out in the second half of the 1920s. No, she was no longer persona non grata. She was given external signs of attention. For example, in the same 1931, when Krupskaya wrote a desperate letter to Lazurkina, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was elected an honorary academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, two years earlier she was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. And in 1933 they were awarded the highest award of the country - the Order of Lenin. The Order of Lenin on the chest of his widow was symbolic. An excellent subject for portraits, photographs and posters. But loneliness continued to torment Nadezhda Konstantinovna. I had to break with my former friends from the opposition. There were no children. She did not even try to re-arrange her personal life. She understood that the public mythologized consciousness cannot accept the widow of a deified leader as the wife of some other mortal.

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And further. Nadezhda Konstantinovna really wanted to work, in her work to find oblivion from the melancholy that sometimes approached. Until 1930, she headed the Glavpolitprosvet, in 1929 she was appointed Deputy People's Commissar of Education. There she supervised out-of-school education, in particular, a pioneer organization, and was engaged in the organization of libraries. In her autobiography *My Life*, written primarily for the pioneers, Krupskaya admitted: "I always regretted that I didn't have children. Now I don't regret it. Now I have a lot of them - Komsomol members and young pioneers. They are all Leninists, they want to be Leninists." In essence, from these lines breathes hidden sadness. An elderly, lonely woman

hides to find solace for himself in the children whom God did not give him and Ilyich. But tens and hundreds of thousands of children all over the country writing letters to "grandmother Krupskaya" are not at all the same as the children in your own family, whom you bring up, take care of, with whom you live the same joys and worries. . On the library front, back in 1923, when Nadezhda Konstantinovna was in charge of the Glavpolitprosvet, she signed a circular ordering that the works of Plato and Kant, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Vladimir Solovyov and Leo Tolstoy, Leskov and many other well-known, but "ideologically harmful" authors. In the section of religious literature, it was ordered to leave only books with anti-religious content.

And Nadezhda Konstantinovna wanted more in her work. As we shall see later, she may not have been averse to taking the post of People's Commissar of Education. But the main thing for Krupskaya was nevertheless the memories of Lenin, books and articles dedicated to the leader, a literary monument to the great spouse, and at the same time to herself. Although she wrote to one of the reviewers of her book: "About myself, as I think, I should write

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minaniam" it was necessary as little as possible. This is the usual defect in all memoirs, that people write in them most of all about themselves, I wanted to write not about myself, but about Ilyich, I wanted to show the situation in which he had to live and work. And what should I write about myself? I loved Ilyich dearly; what worried him worried me; I tried to the best of my ability and ability to help him in his work, but I am an ordinary worker. What to write here? s

Nadezhda Konstantinovna understood that there was too much attention in her memories of her husband. to her own person will only irritate readers. Their roles in the Russian revolution are too disparate. It is much more important that these are her memories, her Ilyich, as only she knew him.

But there was one high-ranking reader who did not like Krupskaya's memoirs very much. This reader is Stalin. Indeed, from the memoirs of Nadezhda Konstantinovna it was clear that Iosif Vissarionovich was by no means the closest person to Lenin, that the disgraced Zinoviev and Kamenev were not such bad people and, in any case, they really were among Lenin's few friends. It turned out that many events in the history of the party did not take place in the way that their Stalinist confidants and the omnipotent himself spoke about them.

ny general secretary. And so, at the beginning of May 1934, a rather critical review of Krupskaya's memoirs by Petr Nikolaevich Pospelov appeared in Pravda. This man enjoyed the patronage of Stalin. Six years later, Pospelov became the editor-in-chief of Pravda. But even then, in 1934, it was well known that his reviews often reflected the Boss's point of view. Al Radchenko wrote in her diary on May 9: "Something happened again. How else can one explain the strange review in Pravda of her Memoirs? - "Personal memories of Lenin are worthless

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have. Krupskaya, in fact, never stood on the Leninist, but only on the Plekhanovist positions ... "This, undoubtedly, was inspired by someone from above." The main sin of the book, in the opinion of the reviewer, was that "the meetings between Lenin and Stalin are listed very briefly." Here Pospelov spoke the absolute truth, but there was no way to correct this sin. Do not invent additional meetings between Ilyich and Koba that never took place. Is it possible to follow the path that, under pressure from editors, already in the 60s, Marshal Zhukov took in his memoirs. Georgy Konstantinovich was forced to write that he was going to once consult with Colonel Brezhnev, but, unfortunately, he was not there: he went to Malaya Zemlya. So you imagine how Vladimir Ilyich asks Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "Where is Koba? I have a very urgent question, only he can help." Fortunately, the widow Lenina, unlike some authors of films and plays about Stalin, did not stoop to such cult myths.

Just in May 1934, Krupskaya underwent a complex operation for Graves' disease. As Nadezhda Konstantinovna admitted in one of her letters, she was literally shaking from weakness, and here was such an unpleasant surprise. After all, a negative review in the central party organ may well lead to organizational conclusions, up to the withdrawal of the book from sale. However, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was not afraid and reacted very sharply to the publication of Pospel's opus. On May 25, 1954, Radchenko wrote down her words: "Today I submitted my next article, and already to Izvestia, and not to Pravda. I won't give them anything else, since they act in such a swine way as with the placement of this review. The main thing is, if its purpose was to discredit my "Memoirs", right?

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they achieved the opposite: all these days they have been calling me from the Comintern, asking me to allow the book to be translated into various foreign languages. And not only books, but also my various articles. And already with mischief: "I will still write like that, and even cleaner."

And permission to transfer was given. Of course, without the sanction of the Central Committee, Krupskaya could not do this. Evidently, Stalin realized that Krupskaya's memoirs were nevertheless indispensable in the creation of the Leninist myth. After all, her life was, above all, concern for Lenin. Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not want to write about anything else, and could not. And not a single memoirist has provided so many details about the life of the leader. Yes, and it was somehow inconvenient to ban the book of Lenin's widow. In the end, suitable episodes can always be replicated in other publications, and inconvenient ones can simply be ignored.

Krupskaya's position improved about a year later, when Nadezhda Konstantinovna began publishing again in Pravda. On August 23, 1935, Stalin handed over to the then chairman of the Party Control Commission and the future "steel people's commissar" Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, Nadezhda Konstantinovna's proposals on the organization of school education for adults who had not received a proper education in their time, and on the publication of her article in Pravda on this topic, as well as the establishment of the Lenin Museum in Moscow. In the accompanying note, General Sec emphasized: "T. Krupskaya is right on all three issues. I am sending this letter to you because your words usually do not differ from your deeds and there is hope that you will fulfill my request, call Comrade Krupskaya, talk to her, etc. Yezhov fulfilled the order, for which he was praised by the leader, who personally made comments and additions to the project of the Lenin Museum.

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With the people's commissar of education, Andrei Sergeevich Bubnov, Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not have a very warm relationship. June 5, 1937

Krupskaya complained in a letter to Stalin: "The power of the People's Commissar in the People's Commissariat is unlimited. And not every people's commissar uses this power as it should... But what must not be allowed is the transformation of the party into a simple instrument for carrying out the will of the people's commissar. It is impossible that the people's commissar threatens not only to fire him from his job, but also to expel him from the party. This immeasurably reinforces bureaucracy and sycophancy, which are already flourishing in the people's commissariat. It is impossible for the secretary of the party committee to be simply an executor of the will of the people's commissar. It turns out

the atmosphere of inciting each other, gossip, reading in the hearts, results in a hopeless squabble. I remember how Ilyich always struggled with the atmosphere of squabbling. It was in Siberia, in London.

On the instructions of the people's commissar, the party committee also serves the press. People write with pseudonyms, slander workers irresponsibly. You can not do it this way. All this is detrimental, but it is reflected in reality ...

Another question is that the struggle against bureaucracy has not been sufficiently organized, not a verbal struggle, but a deed one... The restructuring of work is proceeding slowly, often very superficially, they talk more."

On October 13, 1937, Bubnov was removed from his post, and soon after he was arrested and shot as an "enemy of the people." It is possible that Krupskaya's letter served as a pretext for Andrey's dismissal. Sergeyevich, but one should not think that on the part of Nadezhda Konstantinovna this was a hidden denunciation of an unloved boss with a far-reaching political calculation. Of course, Krupskaya wanted Bubnov to leave the people's commissariat, perhaps even hoping to take his place, but she could not imagine such a tragic outcome. Moreover, in principle, Bubnov was no different from most people's commissars, feeling himself in the People's Commissariat of Education as a king, a god and a military leader.

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chief. He was executed not for bureaucracy and encouragement of sycophancy, but as part of the "changing of the guard" carried out by Stalin, when there was a systematic shooting of the old Bolsheviks, who were replaced in the authorities by younger nominees personally devoted to the general secretary. Stalin did not make Krupskaya the People's Commissar of Education - he took into account the oppositional past, advanced age and poor health.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote to Stalin again on March 7, 1938 in connection with the introduction of the teaching of the Russian language in all schools of the Soviet republics: "We are introducing compulsory teaching of the Russian language throughout the USSR. This is good. This will serve to deepen the friendship for childbirth. But I am very worried about how we will conduct this training. It seems to me sometimes that on-. great-power chauvinism begins to show a little horns. Krupskaya was not worried in vain. Very soon, Great Russian chauvinism showed its horns, and not just anywhere, but in the Politburo.

On August 5, 1938, the highest party body adopted a formidable resolution "On the novel by Mariet you Shahinyan" A ticket to history, part | -i - "Se-

mya Ulyanovs"" , where, in particular, it was said: "To condemn the behavior of Krupskaya, who, having received the manuscript of Shaginyan's novel, not only did not prevent the appearance of the novel in the light, but, on the contrary, encouraged Shaginyan in every possible way, gave positive reviews about the manuscript and advised Shaginyan on various aspects of the life of the Ulyanovs and thus bore full responsibility for this book. To consider Krupskaya's behavior all the more unacceptable and tactless because Comrade Krupskaya did this without the knowledge and consent of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, behind the back of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks ), thereby transforming the all-Party business of compiling works about Lenin into a private and family affair and acting as a monopolist and

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interpreter of public and private life and the work of Lenin and his family, for which the Central Committee never gave anyone the right.

What caused the wrath of the party synclite of the seemingly orthodox-Marxist novel about the childhood and youth of Vladimir Ulyanov, where the main character is drawn quite tinsel? The Politburo did not elaborate on Shaginyan's sins. But four days later, the Presidium of the Board of the Writers' Union met to sort things out with the offending author. Colleagues condemned Marietta Sergeevna for the distorted idea of Lenin's "national face", for the fact that the novel does not emphasize the fact that the leader of the Bolsheviks is "the genius of mankind, put forward by the Russian people."

The anger of Stalin and his comrades-in-arms in the Politburo was caused not so much by the words of the writer that on the paternal side Lenin's grandmother came from a "baptized" Kalmyk family, but by the assertion of the author of "Ticket through History" that Ilyich's maternal grandfather was "Ukrainian Alexander Dmitrievich Blank. If you look, then this statement, indeed, sounds mocking. After all, the father of the mother of Vladimir Ilyich for the first half of his life, before the transition from Judaism to Orthodoxy, was called not Alexander Dmitrievich, but Srul (Israel) Moyshevich. Ukrainian Srul Moyshevich Blank is, of course, a strong word. Moreover, Lenin's grandfather, who died in the year of the birth of his world-famous grandson, probably didn't know a word of Ukrainian and never himself a Ukrainian.

considered.

But in 1938, it was no longer possible to speak openly about the Jewish origin of the leader of the Bolsheviks. The Russian people gradually became the first among other Soviet peoples. On the eve of the war

Lin needed to reinforce the Marxism of the Russian

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with a rational ideology in order to play on the patriotic feelings of the most numerous nation of the USSR. Emphasizing the "foreign" roots of Lenin was not only not timely, but even dangerous. Although neither Shaginyan nor Krupskaya had any malicious intent. It is not known which of them came up with the fatal idea to declare Blank a Ukrainian. But the logic of such a decision can be understood. It was impossible to admit that Alexander Dmitrievich was a Jew. It was not only Stalin's anti-Semitism that got in the way, but also the widespread belief among the Black Hundred circles of the Russian emigration, as well as in National Socialist Germany, that the Bolshevik leader was a Jew. To recognize the Jewish origin of Lenin's grandfather, thought Krupskaya and Shaginyan, means pouring water on the mill of the fascists and the Black Hundreds.

It would seem easier to declare Blank a German. The surname seems to be German. Yes, and the Germans in Ukraine, where he was born, and Alexander Dmitrievich lived, right up to. The Second World War lived a lot. However, even so, Shaginyan's novel said that German and Swedish blood flowed in the veins of Vladimir Ilyich's grandmother. The origin of the founder of the Soviet state would then look too German. During the period of hostile relations with Hitler's Germany, this was completely inopportune. And so the statement about the Ukrainian grandfather was born. The writer did not raise her hand to call Blanc a Russian: the surname sounded too un-Russian. Meanwhile, the Orthodox Blank, most likely, considered himself Russian. But neither Krupskaya nor Shaginyan believed in God, and. Orthodoxy was not identified with Russian nationality in this case. And the result was a scandal that ended with a closed decision of the Politburo.

The most offensive and humiliating for Nadezhda

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Konstantinovna in this decision was that from now on the memory of her husband, as it were, did not belong to her. Now only the Central Committee, or more simply, Stalin, could give or not give anyone permission to write or talk about Lenin, in memoirs or works of art. The memoirs of the leader's widow could no longer be considered her private affair.

During the period of mass repressions against the communists in 1937-1938, Krupskaya more than once tried to alleviate the fate of a number of her party comrades. Thus, she succeeded in ensuring that the worker Nikolai Alekseevich Yemelyanov, who sheltered Lenin in Razliv, was replaced by exile in the camp, and secured the release of some members of his family. However, when Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and other opposition leaders well known to Nadezhda Konstantinovna were condemned to death at the falsified Moscow trials, she was silent. Krupskaya did not believe in the guilt of Lenin's associates, but she understood that a public speech or even a personal letter to Stalin in their defense bordered on suicide.

In addition to recollections of Ilyich, Nadezhda Konstantinovna in the 1920s and 1930s published a mass of articles and pamphlets on issues of pedagogy. Today, these publications at best cause a smile, sometimes bitter. For example, in 1929, in the sadly memorable year of the "great turning point," Krupskaya called on "communist teachers" to "lay in the pioneers the foundations of a materialistic worldview," "teach them to clearly understand where social development is going," words, but in deeds "fighters and builders". She herself was clear about something that is not clear to anyone in today's Russia.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna believed that humanity was developing along the path to communism, that religion was the opiate of the people, that it was necessary to fight for traffic jams.

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the spirit of the revolution, but to build only socialism and communism. Krupskaya called for protecting the children from "puffing". Well, which of the readers of the dog is given what it is? For those who have not guessed, I will decipher: pioneer swagger, by analogy with the more common swagger in its time.

It was still necessary, according to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, to guard against "a thoroughly bourgeois desire to advance at the expense of others." Meanwhile, this desire lay in the nature of man at all times and under any social system, including the socialist one. And in post-communist Russia, despite all the efforts of Krupskaya and her followers, it blossomed into a lush but ugly flower.

In 1932, in the article "Bourgeois manners out of the Soviet school", Nadezhda Konstantinovna tried to enlighten young pioneers and pioneers about International Women's Day and mutual



`wearing floors. Pioneers should take care that "the mother could go to an educational program or to a meeting" (a meeting, of course, is more important than an extra hour or two to be with her own children!).

As for "relationships between boys and girls," Krupskaya explained as follows: "In the old days, under serfdom, and then under capitalism, the husband was the head of the family. In the church, the priests called: "Let the wife be afraid of her husband! The wife was a slave, a servant of her husband, without him she did not dare to take a step. In a particularly crude form, this power was manifested in the countryside, where there was very great darkness and lack of rights. There it often happened that a husband beat his wife, trampled on his feet, kicked her out of the house, forced her to work for him. A drunk will come and shout: "Marya, take off your boots!" "Now, Ivan Petrovich," the slave wife replies meekly, begins to drag boots from the drunk, and he tries to hit her in the face with his boot. The landowners, the local authorities flogged the peasants, and those

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broke the heart of the broads. If a wife wanted to go to the city, go to work, she could not do it without her husband's permission. According to the law, the husband was the owner of his wife, she was his property. Among a number of nationalities, even to this day, the husband looks at his own. he hides his wife from prying eyes, locks him up at home, and if he wants to, he will sell her to a friend, sell her to a rich buyer. Such morals were infectious. Even among people who finished high school, wife-beating was common."

Here Nadezhda Konstantinovna relied more on fantasy than on personal experience. Neither in Shushenskoye nor in other Russian villages did she seem to have seen the beating of wives by drunken husbands, especially with a boot in the face, and even with the boot that an unfortunate wife has to pull off the feet of her master slave owner. In any case, in "Memoirs of Lenin" Krupskaya does not write anything about such excesses. But now, having frightened the pioneers with the standard set of horrors of the pre-revolutionary past, she proceeds to personal impressions: "I remember that in 1905 Comrade Lenin and I rented a room in a large house. And nearby lived - also rented a room - some officer; so he dragged his wife by the hair down the corridor every evening. I must say right away that both before the revolution and after it, the proletarians in terms of beating and pulling wives by the hair gave odds to any officer. Suffice it to re-read the stories and feuilletons of Mikhail Bulgakov, by the way, who in the early 1920s worked under Nadezhda Konstantinovna in the Literary Department (Lito) of the Main Political

dash" on Bolshaya Sadovaya, so famous for the novel "The Master and Margarita".

Krupskaya had already forgotten that her father had once been an officer. The word "officer" is now always understood with the definition of "royal" or "be

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ly". This means that the enemy deserves to be only a negative example. True, Nadezhda Konstantinovna makes a reservation: "Among the bourgeoisie, among wealthy people, female slavery took other forms. The husband did not beat his wife, did not force him to work for him - that's why there were cooks and maids in the house - but he looked at his wife as if he were his toy, gave her beautiful dresses, various rattles, brooches, rings, combs, caressed her like a kitten or a room little dog. The view of a woman as an object of entertainment is widespread in bourgeois countries. In most bourgeois countries, women are either completely deprived of voting rights, or these rights are limited. In our country, the country of the Soviets, women are equal in everything, in rights with men.

Because a woman was looked upon as a slave or as a toy, it was believed that she did not need to know as much as a man. In most bourgeois countries there are separate schools for boys and girls. In women's schools, the programs are smaller, they lean more on religion, music, and needlework. Before the revolution of 1917, it was the same in our country: there were separate gymnasiums for boys and separate for girls. After the October Revolution, all our schools became schools of joint education: girls study on an equal footing with boys.

Communists look at woman as a comrade, they fight against the old, mean, bourgeois attitude towards women. It is a bad communist who treats women in the old, capitalist way. b

By law, a woman is equal with a man, but in life, in everyday life, there are still many old habits. Look around you, look, you will see many old views. If you notice such cases, discuss them with your comrades and think about how you can deal with this.

Sometimes the bourgeoisie starts schools for their children

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co-parenting. But these schools do not

nurture real camaraderie between boys and girls. Girls and boys are kept separately. The girls go to change especially, they talk about which of the boys is "more interesting", they are afraid of the boys, and at the same time they try to dress, dress up, tint their lips so that the boys like it! In a word, they behave like real little bourgeois. And the boys do not lag behind them, tease the girls, write stupid notes to them, try to scold the girls more outrageously, and at the same time begin to court them - in a word, they behave like real little bourgeois. The teachers are silent. In capitalist countries, such things are considered quite natural.

And we have? Unfortunately, not only in our family, not only on the street, but also in the school, the guys have bourgeois manners as much as you want. Don't we have in school that girls sit in the classroom separately from the boys, and the boy considers it a shame for himself to sit down with the girl? How are you at school? But doesn't it happen that the boys tease the girls, bring the girls to tears, and then contemptuously say: "Well, the girl will give a roar now!"

The bourgeois believed that a woman can be humiliated and insulted in every possible way, but she should not even show that she is offended, hard. So our boys sometimes insult the girls in a bourgeois way, and then they are indignant that the girls are offended. Do you have such cases in your school? Or it happens like this: a boy chooses a "lady of the heart" for himself, writes notes to her, tries to please her. She will quarrel with another girl, and the boy will persuade his comrades to beat the girl who quarreled with his "lady of the heart." Don't boys beat girls? Aren't boys and girls avidly reading vulgar bourgeois literature! (As for literature, Krupskaya, let us suppose, took care of it herself, removing in the 1920s from the mass

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s libraries not only of such "vulgar" authors as Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, but also the works of Alexandre Dumas père, "The Count of Monte Cristo" whom she herself once translated on behalf of the same Leo Tolstoy. — B.S.) And how do the pioneers look at all this? How do they deal with all this? How do they tolerate this bourgeoisie?

When the guys join the pioneers, they make a solemn promise to fight for the cause of Lenin, for the cause of the working class. Lenin struggled all his life against the vile bourgeois attitude towards women, fought for her equal rights, for her emancipation. He noted with joy the participation of women in the revolutionary struggle, public work, in the work of the Soviet

comrade He demanded that women, even the darkest, most backward, be drawn as widely as possible into the construction of socialism. Young Leninists—pioneers—not only cannot instill bourgeois morals in schools, they must fight them in every possible way, fight the schoolchildren who do it. The young Leninists, the pioneers, must also wean themselves from stupid habits, fit in to study, to social work.

If today's boys and girls read these lines, then I have no doubt they would prefer to study in a "capitalist" rather than a "socialist" school. For Krupskaya, any school in a "bourgeois" country is bad—be it separate schools for boys and girls or mixed schools. And in girls' schools, the students, it's scary to say, lean more and more on music, needlework and, oh horror, religion!

I wonder what Krupskaya's music did not like? Her music, because Ilyich loved. Maybe the fact that Nadezhda Konstantinovna, unlike Inessa Armand, was deprived of musical abilities by God played a role? Innocent coquetry and shyness characteristic of girls all over the world

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Nadezhda Konstantinovna considers boys, under the guise of deliberate rudeness towards girls, to be a class phenomenon, a "bourgeois remnant" that must be eradicated, with which it is necessary to fight.

In general, the word "fight" is one of Ilyich's widow's favorite words. A Soviet person from a very young age must fight for something and against someone. For bread, coal, steel, oil, for life itself, and finally, to fight against devastation, thaw, imperialists, bourgeois, landlords, kulaks, sub-kulakists, accomplices, etc. the nature of man. And Krupskaya, as an ideal, saw a blissful picture - all the boys and girls, at the wave of the hand of the communist teachers, sit down at their desks in pairs: a boy and a girl. And during the breaks, they walk decorously along the corridor in the same heterosexual couples: a boy arm in arm with a girl. But God forbid, the girl will begin to be "interested" in the boy, or the boy, on the contrary, will begin to show signs of increased attention to his "lady of the heart." Immediately but stop, report where it should be! You only need to think about studying and fighting! I'm afraid that in such a school the students would die of boredom.

When Nadezhda Konstantinovna speaks of "women's slavery" among the bourgeoisie, she seems to be relying on the oral stories and articles of her rival friend Inessa Armand. Much here is in tune with the thoughts that she expressed in a letter to her eldest daughter about Tolstoy. And after all, it was Inessa Fedorovna who was married to a manufacturer, had at her disposal any bracelets, brooches, rings and other "rattles". However, it is difficult to assume that Alexander Evgenievich, but: therefore, his brother Vladimir saw in Inessa a "thing". Here Krupskaya had to fantasize. A breath

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she led to such fantasizing, perhaps under the conscious envy and jealousy of her rival: she lived in luxury, she never knew poverty, and she managed to win Ilyich's love.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself was hardly able to win the souls of the young Leninists with her cloth, bureaucratic language. When you imagine a pioneer obediently repeating: "The view of a woman as an object of entertainment is widespread in bourgeois countries," it becomes so terrible. Or: "The landlords, the local authorities flogged the peasants, and they tore their hearts out at the women." Children, of course, did not think, but an adult will think, and take it in a hurry. How did the concrete, animated landlords and the abstract, inanimate authorities manage to flog the peasants together?

In one of her subsequent articles, Krupskaya generally called on the pioneers to "strengthen the comradely bond between boys and girls." When you read what she wrote, you get the strong impression that Nadya in the gymnasium was the most perfect "blue stocking" and that Ilyich was her first and last love. However, perhaps the common Marxist and Soviet sanctimonious style had an effect here, when the questions of sex and love were bashfully relegated to the background so as not to distract the masses from the class struggle?

Krupskaya also taught the children to be vigilant, urging them not to believe the rumors that the enemies were spreading. In 1932, in the article "Let's Learn to 'Work in a Real, Leninist Way,'" she urged: "Now those who lived well under tsarist rule, who want the power of the landowners and capitalists to return, in order to squeeze the workers and laborers into a tight fist." The masses of the peasantry and collective farmers are trying in every possible way to harm social construction, they are using that note, which is still plentiful in the countryside, to spread all sorts of malicious and harmful rumors, to incite the dark

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people against government. But in order to fight them, we must ourselves understand everything very well."

This was written during the period of forced collectivization, mass deportations of "kulaks and sub-kulakists", famine in the Soviet countryside. In fact, Krupskaya's call sounded mocking. In order not to believe the "evil and hostile rumors", it was not necessary to know much, but not to know much. Soviet propaganda took care of this ignorance, hiding the ugly truth about the famine and repressions from the country and the world. The newly minted collective farmers, one must think, remembered life under the tsar with nostalgic tears as almost a wonderful time: then they had to starve, but still not as thoroughly as under the Soviets. Yes, and in terms of the number of those shot and exiled, Nikolai II, nicknamed Bloody by the revolutionaries, and Stolypin with Lenin and Stalin could not compete.

The end of Krupskaya, like Armand, like Lenin, came suddenly. Nadezhda Konstantinovna suffered from Graves' disease, her heart was naughty, there were a lot of other minor and not very minor ailments, but in those February days of 1939, when she was preparing to celebrate her 70th birthday, nothing foreshadowed trouble. Here is what Vera Rudolf Menzhinskaya, the sister of the late head of the OGPU, recalled: "Even on February 23, Nadezhda Konstantinovna remembered in the Council of People's Commissars, defended kindergartens and orphanages so close to her heart, so dear to her. She was tired, but exhilarated that she had succeeded in achieving the desired result. After the Council of People's Commissars, Nadezhda Konstantinovna went to die in Arkhangelsk ... Unexpectedly for Nadezhda Konstantinovna, old friends, comrades in party work, came there to congratulate her. Memories begin, everyone talks ... Nadezhda Konstantinovna speaks herself, supplementing certain memories. At eight o'clock in the evening she ear

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He comes to himself, feeling unwell, but without telling anyone of those present about it, so as not to disturb the general joyful mood.

About the same friendly dinner, which took place on the eve of her birthday, on the 25th, one of Krupskaya's old friends, Nina Isaakovna Strievskaya, left a story: "It is always hard for me to remember this evening. So well, elated it started and ended so tragically. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was very lively, joked, sang with everyone

favorite songs of revolutionary youth. She recalled the past years with Ilyich in Shushenskoye (for sure, this was the happiest period of her life. - B.S.), how Siberian dumplings helped them out on the way from exile. Someone suggested building them. Together they began to cook them, ate with appetite. Not long after, Nadezhda Konstantinovna went to her room. Soon she began to have severe pains in her stomach. Doctors arrived and took her to the Kremlin hospital." On February 26, Pravda published a congratulation to Krupskaya from the Central Committee on her 70th birthday. At that moment, those upstairs already knew of her hopeless condition.' On February 28, the newspapers published "Report on the illness of Comrade. Krupskaya N.K.", where it was said: "The disease developed rapidly and from the very beginning was accompanied by a sharp decline in cardiac activity and loss of consciousness. In this regard, the opportunity to help the patient in an operative way has disappeared. The day before, at 6:15 am on February 27, 1939, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya "died with symptoms of cardiac paralysis." In an obituary on behalf of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, it was reported: "The death of Comrade. Krupskaya, who devoted her whole life to the cause of communism, is a great loss for the party and the working people of the USSR." For two days of farewell, February 28 and March 1, in the Hall of Columns past the coffin with the body of Krupskaya

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half a million people passed. The urn with her ashes was carried to the Kremlin wall by Stalin and Molotov.

What kind of illness suddenly struck Nadezhda Konstantinovna? The doctor M. B. Kogan, who was the first to arrive at Krupskaya's, suggested poisoning and recommended putting a heating pad with hot water on her stomach. The symptoms that the patient had - acute pain in the abdomen and vomiting - could indicate both food poisoning and appendicitis. In the first case, a heating pad on the stomach facilitates the patient's position, but in the second it aggravates, as it accelerates the onset of peritonitis - inflammation of the peritoneum.

Unfortunately for Krupskaya, the doctor was wrong: Nadezhda Konstantinovna had appendicitis, which quickly turned into peritonitis. Only emergency surgery could save her. However, given the weak heart and the general condition of the patient, there was little chance of a successful outcome. Here, the general fear of Soviet doctors before the responsibility for the lives of high-ranking patients affected. In the time of the Steel, they could literally pay with their heads for the death of such patients. Just now, in March 1938, the "right of the Trotskyist bloc" trial took place, at which the Kremlin doctors

Pletnev, Levin and Kazakov were falsely accused of poisoning and sentenced to lengthy prison terms. The doctors understood that if Krupskaya died on the operating table, her death could easily be blamed on the surgeon who performed the operation. Another thing, if you leave everything as it is. The patient will surely die without an operation, but there will be no specific culprits - a serious illness, it was impossible to save. And they refused the operation "due to difficulties in cardiac activity", although only it gave, albeit illusory, but the only chance

for salvation.

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Before falling into an unconscious state on the evening of February 26, Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not utter her last words to V.S. Dryzov: "What is going on in the world?" Vera Solomonovna managed to inform her about the greetings of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, and other congratulations. Krupskaya closed her eyes wearily and did not open them again.

During the Khrushchev thaw, rumors spread that Lenin's widow had been poisoned. The reason was also given: at the forthcoming 18th party congress in March 1939, it was allegedly going to speak sharply against the lawlessness that was going on in the country. They talked about a cake supposedly sent by Krupskaya from Stalin and containing poison. Both versions, both about the method and the motive for the poisoning, do not stand up to scrutiny upon closer examination. None of the participants in the fatal party, and there were several dozen of them, remembered any cake. There were dumplings that were washed down with jelly. Everyone ate the same thing, and Krupskaya did not eat anything that others did not eat. Most likely, either the dumplings were not cooked enough (after all, the table was arranged in a hurry), or, to the misfortune of Nadezhda Konstantinovna; in one of the dumplings she came across a small bone fragment, which caused inflammation in the intestines.

As for the motive for the murder of Krupskaya, it seems absolutely fantastic. If Nadezhda Konstantinovna wanted to speak out against the repressions, why did she have to wait until 1939? Why didn't she speak earlier, say, in defense of Zinoviev, who was close to her? Yes, and Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not fail to understand that openly speaking out against repressions, directly blaming Stalin personally for lawlessness meant certain death or, at best, imprisonment in a lunatic asylum, as happened in his time with the former member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission Aron Aleksandrovich Solts.



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But the general words about the "excesses" of the NKVD could not frighten anyone and fit perfectly into the next change in the party's policy in connection with the recent removal of Yezhov. And what kind of threat could a seventy-year-old old woman pose for Stalin, who for a long time had no longer played any political role, but during her lifetime she became part of the Leninist myth?

I note that there is a popular belief: a birthday cannot be celebrated before a calendar date, this can bring misfortune. Neither Krupskaya nor the other old Bolsheviks who came to congratulate her believed in God, nor were they simply superstitious people. Who knows whether the tragic incident with Nadezhda Konstantinovna has shaken their materialistic convictions?

After death, all three members of the famous "red triangle" found eternal rest in the same place. Lenin is in the mausoleum on Red Square, Armand is nearby, in a grave near the Kremlin wall, and Krupskaya is in that very wall. All three met again, and now forever. Their names in our memory are inextricably linked with each other. We talk about Krupskaya and immediately remember Lenin and Inessa Armand. We talk about Inessa, and immediately Krupskaya and Lenin come to mind.

Now that my story has come to an end, I would like to reflect on the question, which of the two women closest to Lenin was love more useful? To answer this question, it is necessary to try again to assess the personalities of Armand and Krupskaya and imagine what would have become of them if they had not met Ilyich.

For Nadezhda Konstantinovna, marriage to the leader of the Bolsheviks, no doubt, became a happy ticket. Due to the fact that after the October Revolution, Lenin became the head of the Russian state, Krupskaya received, if not worldwide, then at least all-Russian fame, she held a high

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some government posts, was a member of the Central Committee of the party. For the sake of the position of the "first lady" of the Soviet state, for the sake of belonging to the great leader and the myth that was developing around him, one could put up with the husband's felt indifference to her as a woman, be satisfied with the position of "comrade at work".

Krupskaya had no special talents

noted, except for the revolution, she didn't know how to do anything, she couldn't even properly manage the household. Only revolutionary work gave her a chance to take not the last place in life, to somehow fulfill herself. After all, Nadezhda Konstantinovna almost did not engage in pedagogical activity in isolation from the revolutionary one. Even when she was a teacher in a working school, she thought more about organizing a Marxist circle among her students.

But if Krupskaya had not become Lenin's wife, she would have remained a middle-level party functionary. After 1917, she would have taken some secondary position in one of the numerous city committees and regional committees or in the same people's commissariat of education. And it is not known, by the way, she could still arrange a personal life. Perhaps, even with this version of fate, our heroine safely passed the 37th year, or maybe, without the protection of Lenin's name, she would have perished in the Gulag. Who knows... But one thing is certain: the name of Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya would have been mentioned only in special studies devoted to the history of the Bolshevik Party in the pre-revolutionary period. And her biography would hardly have been written.

Another thing is Inessa Armand. She had the makings of a good pianist... a good literary style. If Inessa had developed these talents, she could well have become a famous pianist or writer. In her archive, by the way, preserved

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unfinished play "Denikins". True, this is nothing more than a revolutionary agitation.

Inessa was characterized by reflection, doubts about whether revolutionaries always have moral rightness. And, if it were not for such a powerful influence of Lenin's personality, it is quite possible to imagine a different version of Armand's fate. Inessa finally becomes disillusioned with the revolution and the Bolsheviks, returns to her native France, turns to the world of literature and art, creates imperishable masterpieces, finds her happiness with some artist or writer, lives a long time ... And, perhaps, would we know Inessa Feodorovna not as Lenin's mistress, but as an outstanding figure in French or Russian culture of the 20th century?

And Ilyich himself, did he experience any influence from the women he loved? I'm afraid not by and large. Lenin could be gentle in his letters to Inessa, take care of the health of Krupskaya, as well as of his other party comrades, but

never, under the influence of feelings, did he deviate from the once chosen path, did not refuse new victims, did not pardon those whom he considered necessary to destroy. Lenin's whole life was subordinated to the revolution. Love in this not very long life occupied especially subordinate place. |

None of the women close to Lenin was able to change him. Probably, there was simply no woman in the world capable of this feat.

Only once, when Inessa died, did Ilyich realize for a moment what he had lost, that the whole world revolution, perhaps, was not worth that great, irrevocable love. But then he seemed to have recovered, returned to business, gave threatening telegrams, edited the 58th "execution" article of the Criminal Code ... Until a fatal illness struck him. Maybe one of her reasons was unspoken sadness for Inessa? Maybe subconsciously

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Did Lenin understand that if he parted with the unloved Nadia, united with Inessa, and there would be no fatal trip to Kislovodsk, there would be no lead coffin at the Kazan station, wreaths and black mourning ribbons? Answers to these and many other questions can only be given in the novel about Armand, Krupskaya and Lenin. Maybe someday they'll write one. And our documentary and truthful

the story is over.

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1 All dates in the book relating to Russia before January 19 (February 1), 1918 are given according to the old style (Julian calendar). Dates referring to other states are usually

are given according to the new style (Gregorian calendar), which was introduced in Russia | February` 1918. In some cases, double dating is given according to both calendars. In the 20th century, the old style was 12 days behind the new style, in the 20th century it was 13 days late.

Inessa Armand in her youth

Nadya Krupskaya, five years old

N. K. Krupskaya

Armand with children. 1910 VE DIVA ZGOVIAKH

V. I. Lenin. 1897

AI |

V. I. Lenin. Moscow, 1900. V. I. Lenin. 1910

N. K. Krupskaya is a teacher at an evening and Sunday school beyond the Nevskaya Zastava. 1895

V. I. Lenin on the day of leaving N. K. Krupskaya. 1915-1916 years. prison of New Targ. 1914

N. K. Krupskaya after leaving prison. Petersburg, 1898

V. I. Lenin, I. F. Armand and N. K. Krupskaya in Stockholm among Russian political emigrants returning to their homeland (in front with an umbrella - Lenin. Behind him in a wide-brimmed hat - Krupskaya. Behind Krupskaya - Armand. This is the only one known today photo where Lenin, Krupskaya and Armand are taken together). 1917

V. I. Lenin, N. K. Krupskaya and A. I. Ulyanov-Elizarova in Gorki. 1922

N. K. Krupskaya in the office

Glavpolitprosveta.  
Moscow. 1927 N. K. Krupskaya. 1936

N. K. Krupskaya - Agafya V. I. Lenin in makeup. 1917 Atamanova. 1917

This memorial plaque, depicting Armand and Lenin, is installed on the house in Geneva where Lenin and Krupskaya once rented an apartment. Armand lived in the house opposite on the same days.

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